

R. Spirit THE
S P I R I T
O F
N A T I O N S.

Translated from the *F R E N C H.*



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БНТ

ТИПАГ

ЗА

ЗИОНЕЦАИ

МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИЗДАНИЙ



ХОДОК

ПИСЬМО ДЛЯ ДОЧЕРЬ ДАЧИ, ПИСЬМО
ДЛЯ МАМЫ ДЛЯ ДОЧЕРЬ, ПИСЬМО ДЛЯ БУДУЩИХ

МОСТИ

AN ENGLISH MEDICAL DICTIONARY
CONTAINING THE PRINCIPAL TERMS OF MEDICAL
KNOWLEDGE, WITH A TREATISE ON
PHYSICAL MEDICINE, AND A HISTORY OF
THE CURE OF DISEASES.

P R E F A C E.

OF all the Researches that may serve to employ Man's Thoughts, he will never find a more important Object than Himself: If this, abstractedly, be the noblest Object of his Enquiries, what must be the Subject of Mankind in general, the collective Body of all Nations!

Yet this great, this noble Subject, never has been discussed, at least any further than in detached Sentences and vague Definitions; no general System of Man has been attempted, where the Choice of Facts, the Quality and Order of Principles, accounted for the moral Phenomena, and assigned to every Thing its sure and distinct Character.

The Arduousness and Extent of the Undertaking are indeed not a little discouraging to me; I feel the Want of the creative Genius, and how much the Work itself, if I may be allowed to

say so, is beneath the Model and the Ideas I have conceived of it in my Mind. The Form into which the Design is to be cast, is alone sufficient to daunt me.

After having collected an immense Number of Facts, and Customs ; after being, as it were, overwhelmed with Particulars, the Reader must be spared : For from this mighty Concourse of Events, a *single* Reflection, or Character, can perhaps be made Use of, and the Flower only of the laborious Acquisitions laid before him. Such has ever been the Condition annexed to a Disquisition into Genius.

Not less Accuracy is required in the Order for connecting the Materials, and disposing them where they may best add Light and Strength to each other, reducing a Variety of Reading to fixed Points, and collecting into a few Ideas, the different Parts of universal History and the Relations of Travellers. The Multitude of Views, of Relations and Connections is such, that the most exact Attention is required not to lose the Clew of this Labyrinth of Reflections.

A Philosophic Taste for Method induced me to suppress the Pomp of Quotations, which with great Ease would have furnished me Volumes ;

lumes: I have been sparing and nice in the Use of them; such only as were necessary to compleat my Proofs, and enliven the Seriousness of Argument, have been produced.

A Nation's Character may be compared to the fundamental Truths of an Author's System; tho' misrepresented perhaps in a Translation, they are still to be found out in the Body of the Work. This has authorised me to suppose in my Readers a Knowledge of the Facts, at least to a Degree not uncommon in these Times. All my Delineations of a People may be verified even by those who have but a general Idea of its History. My Reflections concern a Multitude of public Facts, which, as they cannot be supposititious, require no Attestations and Details,

In fine, this is no more than a Portraiture of the *general Spirit of Nations*; 'tis what I cannot sufficiently repeat. Heads and general Expressions are what I am drawing. When Particulars come in Course, and the Stile ceases to be philosophic, I have indulged myself in all those Amenities which may embellish Details, but would only vitiate Principles and Philosophy; for a more entertaining and extensive Scheme, taken from History and Travels, lies before me. The Naturalists rationally wait a more ample Display

Display of Causes and Effects for a general System of Physics ; but for a System of Man, the Time is now come. Thus much for the Form

As for the Matter, it will appear extremely simple. The physical Causes are reduced to the Climate and Imagination. In moral Causes, or rather in their Consequences, the Preference is always given to simple Ideas, as in these Instances, *viz.* Man is born for Society and Action ; Society cannot subsist without Women : Nations being in a natural State of War, this Spirit must necessarily be kept up, to repel Invasions, and maintain their Laws.

Liberty is the State of Man, and unquestionably the most perfect ; its Influences are equally happy on the Mind and Heart, on the Sciences and moral Virtues : In fine, that Prudence by which States are ruled, is certainly preferable to Philosophy, as is Philosophy to Eloquence, Painting, &c.

From this Sentiment flowed those strong Censures of the Orientals, without excepting the Chinese themselves, however Missionaries may be wrapt in Admiration of that celebrated Empire : But what indeed are their boasted Capacity and Virtues, in respect of the great Principles

bles of Man's Happiness ? From the very Commencement of Monarchy the Orientals have been absolute Slaves. They have ruined Society by that eternal Confinement of Women, the most unjust, and unphilosophical of any thing in the whole World. Woman's Heart is the Sanctuary for Manners : And to this the *Chinese* have added a savage Law, which debarring Foreigners from coming into their Empire, cuts off natural Society, and will ever keep up an invincible Ignorance. In fine, they have been often conquered for Want of military Qualities, which they stupidly despise ; and of all Professions, a Soldier is held in the greatest Contempt. Is not then the Character of that Nation exceptionable, and supremely so ? It has violated the general Principles of Society ; it has counteracted the simple Ideas.

Neither could I, in the Warmth of philosophic Severity, forbear a few Criticisms on the famous Republic of *Lacedaemon*, of which, in other respects, I entertain the highest Admiration. *Lycurgus*'s Laws appeared to me, in some Articles, too singular even for a small Republic ; nor is the *Spartan* Virtue always grounded on warrantable Principles ; there is too much Labour and Art. 'Tis *Paint*, of which indeed the World cannot afford the like,

pre-

prepared by *Greeks and Philosophers*; but still it is Paint.

The whole Work is such, that I shall congratulate myself on having happily executed it, if it but prove answerable to my Love of Liberty and Mankind.

The first five Chapters, which turn on Geography, may to some appear dry; they are, however, a Part of the Design, but may be omitted, as not absolutely necessary.

The Conclusion is followed by a detached Piece, taken from comparative Ideas of Painting.

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THE

THE Genius of Nations

THE Genius of Nations

S P I R I T
N A T I O N S.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Genius of Nations.

THE Genius of Nations may be considered as a Cause, or as an Effect; in the former Sense, it is nothing but the Humour, Nature and Temper; in the latter, it is to Minds what Physiognomy is to Bodies; as this is no more than the Air of the Face, formed by the Symmetry of the several Features, so is Genius that Disposition arising from the Combination of Customs and Opinions with

the natural Temper; but the Place where either of these Words shall be employed, will of itself fully clear up all Ambiguities.

The Events and Vicissitudes, which of late have fallen out in all Places, and laid open the respective Genius, show that the Time is come for characterising Nations. As to the Accounts of the *Latin* Writers, concerning the *European* Barbarians, I look upon them as defective and suspicious, and am cautious of laying any Stress on them, as, to me, the Dispositions of these Nations does not seem to have been susceptible of any certain Definition, till the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Century.

The Accounts given us of the *Americans* and inland *Africans*, came under the same Predicament; such of these People as did not save themselves by Flight into the Woods, and other Places of difficult Access, having been murthered or dispersed, at the very Time they were conquered.

Even in this Continent there are People, who could be made known only by some general Ideas, having little or no Morality. The *Hungarians*, the *Tartars*, and many other petty mountainous Tribes, are in a State of War, robbing and murdering among themselves and others; so that War and Drunkenness are the Sum of the Character of wandering People, who cannot be called a policed Nation, nor have any fixed Establishment,

blishment, from which Observations can be drawn with any Certainty.

In fine, there is no necessity of premising, that in drawing the Character of Nations, some particular Provinces, as those of the *Parthians in Persia*, which were the Terror of the *Romans*, are never included; for the Nature of this Work will not admit of such infinite Details; and these Provinces being carried along in the general Vertex of the Nation, they are forced to disguise their Manners, and their Genius is too much blended to distinguish it with a proper Accuracy.

Mankind we divide into four principal Branches, *viz.* *Negroes*, *Americans*, *Chinese* and *Europeans*, distinguished by Language, Colour, Customs, Shape, Inclinations and Religion, and separated from each other so many Ages since, that the particular Epochas are not determinable.

The Genius depends on two Principles, physical and moral Causes, which we shall now enumerate and explain.

C H A P. II.

The physical Causes of the Genius of a Nation.

OF a Nation's Genius, the fundamental Cause is the Climate, with many other subordinate and consecutive, as the Quality of the Blood, the Aliments, the Water and Vegetables. The Climate is the most universal, most intimate physical Cause. Omitting, on this Head, the Authorities of great Men, as *Theophrastus*, *Cicero*, *Hippocrates*, and *Galen*, I shall begin with the common Definition of a Climate, which is a Space on the Globe between two supposed Lines parallel to the Equator, and at such a Distance from each other, that there is half an Hour Difference in their longest Day. I divide the Earth into twenty-four Climates.

All the several People inhabiting the Earth, we divide into three Parts. The first comprehends the thirty Degrees northward from the Equator, which we shall assign to the southern and scorched Regions; the thirty successive Degrees till the sixtieth northwards, comprehend the middle and temperate Countries; and the thirty from thence to the Pole shall be the Degrees of the northern People, and the Regions of excessive Cold.

The

The same Divisions are also to be observed from the Equator to the Antarctic Pole.

The 30 Degrees of the scorched Regions are afterwards to be divided into two equal Parts; the 15 first betwixt the Equator and the Tropic are of a milder Temperature, and the others lying directly under the Equator, are of an intense Heat; proceeding to the next 15 southern Degrees of the temperate Region from 30 to 45; in the next 15 to 60, Cold is predominant; yet, even from 60 to 75, severe, dark and sterile as the Climate is, it does not want Inhabitants.

The Pole being 90 Degrees distant from the Equator, the most desirable Temperature is found to be from 30 to 45; the 30th Degree divides Mount *Atlas*, which, like a Boundary, extends itself from the western End of *Africa* to *Egypt*; by Means also of this Chain, which is a Fence from the burning Heat of the Sun, the hither Part of *Africa* is watered by an infinite Number of Rivers. The same Degree runs along the high Lands of *Arabia*, and the Extremities of the *Persian* and *Indian* Coasts.

The 60th Degree from the Equator falls on the Frontiers of *Sweden*, *Gothland*, *Livonia*, *Moscovy*, the *Orkneys*, and the Extremities of Mount *Imaus*.

In a more happy Position, betwixt 40 and 15, are situated the hithermost Parts of *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, *Lower-Germany* as far

as the *Maine*, *Hungary*, *Illyria*, both *Myssias*, the Country of the *Dacians*, *Moldavia*, *Turkey* in *Europe*, a great Part of *Lesser Asia*, *Sogdiana* bordering Southwards on *Bactriana*, together with *Armenia* and the Province of the *Partibians*.

The more these Countries verge towards the South, such as *Cilicia*, *Asia* and *Media*, the more temperate they are. In this Number are the *Spaniards*, *Peloponesians*, *Sicilians*, *Syrians*, *Cretans*, *Arabians*, *Persians*, the Inhabitants of the Province of *Shusan*, those of the Province of *Tarsus*, the *Indians*, the *Carthaginians*, the *Numidians*, the *Lybians*, the *Moors*, and the Inhabitants of *Florida* in *America*; and hence, several hold the best Temperature to be betwixt the Degrees 30 and 40; and this Temperature is still improved as the several Countries in the same Latitude lie more or less towards the East.

The middle Point between East and West is in *America*; and the Equator forms the exact Division of North and South of the whole terraqueous Globe. As to the Hemisphere on this Side the Equator, that Circle determines the South, as the Pole in *Vertice* does the North; the East is about the *Molucca Islands*, and the West at the *Canaries*; the Middle of this Hemisphere is the 45th Degree of Latitude; all above it, proportionally belonging to the North, and all below it being in the southern Division.

Properly, that is strictly speaking, there is no East and West, as there is no rising and setting ; but the Universe observes a regular and perpetual Alternative. However, without confining ourselves to mathematical Punctuality, it is certain, from physical Experiments, that there are very remarkable and general Differences betwixt the eastern and western Climates. These Effects of Nature in different Climates, which we shall exhibit and endeavour to account for, beginning with the Air and physical Productions, as Plants and Metals, will lead us to a Disquisition of its Effects in Man and Animals.

C H A P. III.

Of the Effects of the Climate on Plants and Metals.

MEALS, in northern Countries, are produced and prepared by an internal Calefaction or Heat in the Bowels of the Earth ; whereas, in the Preparation of Gold, Nature makes use of the Sun and celestial Powers. So the Men of the East and South owe their Existence to the Influences of the Air, whilst those of the West and North subsist by a vital Flame within their Bodies : In the North the inward Parts are both hot and moist ; and the East and West are of a milder Complexion.

These Qualities shew themselves more, and are, as it were, transparent in pure and light Bodies ; for when the Air of both the upper and lower Region is warmed by the Summer Heats, in the middle Region the Cold becomes so intense, in this Season, as to engender Hail ; the Earth, scorched by the solar Beams, retains their Heat within its Bowels, whilst, elsewhere, all Bodies are hardened by the Frost.

The Mixture of Heat and Humidity it is, which renders the northern Region so prolific in Men and Animals : It also produces numberless Plants, vast Forests, and Trees of an amazing Height, not only in *Greenland*, but on those Parts of the *Appenine* Mountains which face the North.

All *Africa* does not afford any thing of a Forest, but in Mountains, which are every where of a northern Quality ; the Trees, like the Men, gradually diminish in Stature, as they are nearer the South : Are not Oaks, no further than in *Gallia Narbonensis*, though but two Feet high, seen to bear Acorns ?

Volcano's, or subterraneous Fires, force their Way in northern Climates : Beyond the 30th Degree from the Equator, no such Conflagrations, nor hot Baths, are heard of, as are not uncommon in the remotest Parts of *Sweden*. The Land of the South is covered with a Variety of Flowers and other vegetal

vegetal Ornaments ; but these, however they may entertain the Eye, are of no considerable Benefit.

The gross Vapours emitted by the marshy Soil, render the Summer Heats more insupportable in the North than towards the South. Fire in Straw, Reeds, and such light Substances, acts not with that Force as in Wood ; nor in Wood as in Metals. In the northern Countries the thick Air retains whatever hot Effluvia are brought thither by southern Gales : In *Africa* the very Stones are burned by the perpendicular Incidence of the Sun-beams. *Europe*, and especially the North, is every where watered by Lakes and Rivers, which copiously send forth Exhalations ; in fine, in a thick Air and dark Sky, the Body is much more uneasy and languid than in a light Air and clear Weather.

The South, amidst all its valuable Productions, justly prides itself most in the Generation of Gold and Jewels ; but then it is deficient in Silver, Lead, Quicksilver, and Iron : To the latter, *Africa* is a Stranger ; and the best is found in *Sweden* and *Ostrogothia*. *Biscay*, the most northern Province of *Spain*, yields great Quantities of it ; and *Andalusia*, the most southern Land of all *Europe*, is said to have many Gold Mines ; on the other hand, no Country in the whole World

World abounds in Sulphur like the frozen Island of *Iceland*.

To proceed from the South to the East and West, *Galatia*, a Province of *Lesser Asia*, for instance, seems by the Nature of its Soil, and its same Distance from the Equator, to differ in nothing from *Apulia*, a *Neapolitan Province*: The Difference of its Temperature cannot therefore be evidenced, but by Experience and the concurrent Testimony of *Greek* and *Latin Authors*. Further, the Limits of the eastern Region of this Hemisphere seem to me rightly placed at the *Molucca Islands*, as are those of the western at the *Canaries*, as this Distance takes up half the Circumference.

The East is found to have a great Affinity with the South in the Nature of the Lands, Plants, Jewels and Metals, and likewise of the Men; yet is there one Difference, and that very considerable, occasioned by a particular Intemperies of the Air. The Plague usually spreads from East to West, and from a very plain Cause, the South Wind blowing upon the damp northern Regions, the Heat increases the Putrefaction, the immediate Cause whereof is the Diversity and Variableness of the Winds, those from the South being hot and moist, those from the North cold and dry; but the Winds arising from the Pole, being usually less impetuous, do not occasion in the Air such Alterations, as those

those from the traverse or collateral Points of the World ; and as to the other Winds, the same Power of the Sun both excites and lays them.

From hence it is, that of all Winds, those which reign in Spring and Autumn are the most violent ; and of these a particular Impetuosity seems to belong to the *Africus* or S. W. and the *Corus* or N. W. and by N.

The opposite Winds to these are the *Vulturnus*, which is an easterly Wind, setting in about the Winter Solstice ; and the *Aquilo* is a Summer North-East Wind : The North-West Wind is extremely cold and moist, and the *Vulturnus* hot and very dry ; but the coldest and hottest Winds are the polar.

There are also two Side-winds, both temperate ; the one, which is the *Favonius* or *Zepbyrus* of the *Latins*, blowing in gentle Breezes directly from the West ; and the *Subsolanus*, which is due East, and usually equinoctial : This is a healthy Wind, and sometimes stronger than the *Favonius*, especially when the Sun is declining from the Equator.

Thus it is on the Mixture of Heat and Moisture that Fertility of all kinds depends. This Mixture indefatigable Industry has effected in *China*, by a prodigious Multitude of Canals, Dwellings, and even large Cities ; but in no Part of the World is there such a natural Display of it as in *Egypt*, by the Over-

Overflowings of the *Nile* : It is also very observable in several Parts of the *East-Indies*, and the Countries bordering on the *Caspian Sea* : Hence that surprizing Fertility of the Earth : Hence also those frightful Swarms of Beasts, Insects, and Reptiles, which distinguish those Climates.

From the Land in general, Order leads us to view particular Places.

C H A P. IV.

Of particular Places.

THE Difference both of the Climate and of Things is very considerable in uneven Places, terminated and limited by a particular Horizon ; and this Disparity has been observed even by the uncultivated Intellects of Peasants and Artificers.

The Champain Country and Plains of *Turin* face the East, or rather partake of an eastern Nature, the huge *Alps* intervening betwixt them and the West. *Palestine* is accounted western, having on the East Side of it the Mountains of *German* and *Liban* ; though the Sun, in the Equator, rises to *Palestine* an Hour and an half sooner than to *Turin* : Now the Sun, at its Rise, dispelling the thick and noxious Gloom in the Air, the Country becomes more healthy and delightful ; and at the Time of the greater Heat,

that

that is, after Noon, the Sun sets to the eastern Region, and rises to the western ; hence that great Difference betwixt *Dauphiné* and *Piedmont*, though in the same Latitude and Longitude : The same Difference is found betwixt Mountains and fenny or dry Places, or such as are sheltered from, or exposed to, the Violence of Winds.

For the Inhabitants of the Mountains, in many respects, differ from those of the Levels, especially if fenny : In the North, the Cold equally spreads itself over the level Country ; and in the South, amongst the Mountains and middle Regions. The Cold on the Peak of *Teneriff*, is not less intense than on the *Hyperborean* Mountains.

"Tis not from any Proximity of the Heavens that is derived the superior Virtue and Vigour of mountainous Plants and Animals ; but the flat Country in the North, being too much watered, the Highlanders are, by natural Consequence, more robust and hardy ; as the mountainous Flocks, Birds and Trees are, in their several Kinds, known to be preferable to any other.

This Discourse on the middle Region and the Manners of its Inhabitants, does not relate to those of the *Pyrenees*, the *Alps*, or the *Cevennes* and the Mountains of *Epirus* and *Albania*, known in antient History by the Appellation of *Acroceræunia*, separating the *Ionian* Sea, which lies betwixt *Sicily* and *Candia*,

Candia, from the *Adriatic*; as little, consequently, is it referable to the People of the Mountains betwixt *Armenia* and *Georgia*; nor those of Mount *Imaus*, which reaches as far as the *Ganges*; nor of Mount *Hemus* in *Tbracia*; nor of the *Carpathian* Hills in the Country of the *Sarmatians*; nor lastly, are the Inhabitants of *Olympus*, *Caucasus*, and the Mountains of *Auvergne* in *France*, included herein.

Further, out of this Character are to be excepted, among the eastern and western People, those of Mount *Atlas* and *Arabia Felix*. The Mountaineers, both of the North and South, are a hardy, daring Race, their Courage rising to a kind of Ferocity; even on Mount *Atlas*, though so near the Tropic, the Men are large and vigorous.

The *Arabian* Mountaineers, as they still are in Possession of their Liberty, so they still retain their antient Savagery, as its Support; and so formidable were they, that the Sultan formerly paid them 60,000 golden Crowns, that the luxuriant Plains of *Palestine* and *Damascus* might not be ravaged by their Incursions.

Of the several petty Nations in *Italy*, the *Marfi* were the most valiant, so that their Bravery was even proverbial, *Sine Marfis triumphasse neminem*. The *Suiss*, the *Dalicarians*, the *Dalmatians*, the *Ligurians* or *Genoese* Mountaineers, the Highlanders of *Sicily* and

and *Scotland*; in fine, all the Mountaineers in all Climates are so many Instances of my Assertion.

From a contrary Reason, the *Batavians* or *Hollanders*, the Inhabitants of *Frietzland* about the Mouth of the *Rhine*, the *Flemings* inhabiting moorish Levels, are of a larger Size than the *English*, whose Soil is sandy or gravelly.

Of all Situations the worst is a hot and fenny Country, such as *Egypt* and *Gallia Narbonensis*, which is full of Fens of a great Extent; the Air engendering the *Hydrocele*, the Leprosy corrupting the Blood, and instead of a lively Ruddiness, giving a wan and fallow Hue to the Complexion; whereas hot Countries, however dry or arid, are not unhealthy. The *Spaniards*, the *Numidians*, the *Perians*, the *Chaldeans*, and the Inhabitants of *Arabia Felix*, bear Hunger and Thirst, and go through all the Fatigue of Labour with Alertness.

What is still more, only in the Separation of a River, if its Course reaches through the whole adjacent Country, as the *Danube*, the *Po* and the *Niger*, a great Diversity is observable both in the Body and Mind. They who live on the South-side of the *Niger* are weak, little, and of an ashen Complexion; whereas the northern Inhabitants are well-built Men, strong, and almost quite black; this made *Plato*, to whom, as

a Philosopher, such a Variation could not be unknown, thanked the Gods that he was born an *Athenian* and not a *Theban*; though the former City was not above twenty thousand Paces from the latter, with the River *Asopus* running betwixt; but the *Athenians* possessed the nothern, and the *Thebans* dwelled in the southern Country.

The same Reasoning holds good of those who inhabit the Valleys, according to their opposite Exposure. They who join to the *Carpathian Mountains* in *Sarmatia* are tanned like *Mulatoes*; and on the other Side of the Mountains, the Complexions are of a most delicate Fairness. The Inhabitants of *Corinthia* and *Croatia* differ from the *Illyrians* and *Illyrians*; and the *Venetians* on the Continent, are very far from being like the *Genoese*, *Ligurians* and *Tuscans*.

In all windy Places, Men are generally more wild and fickle; whereas, a calm Situation, by the Leisure and Facility it affords for Meditation, settles and tranquillizes the Temper. The Gait of a Madman indicates his Body to be in a perpetual Agitation. Mariners, by the incessant Motion of their Calling, and the Want of civilized Society, contract a kind of Babarism; in fine, Experience manifests that the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, *Britons*, *Circassians*, *Lybians*, *Portuguese*, *Perfians*, *Bavarians*, *Austrians*, *Hungarians*, the northern *Asiatics* and *Americans*, the Na-

Nations of the *Palus Maeotidis*, the *Scythians*, and the Inhabitants of those Climates which have sent forth the most savage Migrants, being agitated by frequent Storms, are more fierce and warlike than those of calmer Regions, though in the same Latitude; such as *Affyria*, *Egypt*, *Lesser Asia*, *Italy*, and *Liguria*. This is singularly observable in *Circassia*, where, in a most mild Temperature of Air, the Force of Winds is felt with more Violence than, perhaps, in any other Part of the World: Accordingly, the Inhabitants are extremely savage and cruel. On the same Principles we find, there are no People in *Gaul* of a more martial Temper than the *Gascons* and the Inhabitants of *Provence*, though more southern than other Provinces; which restless Spirit is derived from the continual Blasts of the *Vulturnus* and North-west Winds.

Thus the Salubrity of the Air is very difficult to be determined. There are Countries, which, though damp, are very healthy, as the Kingdom of *Algarva*, and many more; and even, where this Quality is ascertained, still would it be no Proof here: For, towards an exact Knowledge of Climates, an Enquiry into the Surface and Fertility of the Lands, or a Similarity in the Temperature of the Air, and into the Growth of Fruits is not sufficient; there must be a thorough Analysis of Nature; a Region

must be parcelled out by Divisions; the Formation of Vegetables and Minerals must be carefully attended to; as also the Nature and Returns of the Winds; the infinite Diversity of the Situation of the Lands; the Quality of the Waters; that of the Aliments of its own Growth, or imported from other Countries, though the native Qualities of the latter necessarily undergo some Loss or Alterations.

But what most deserves an especial Attention is the Temperance, the Manner of Living of the Inhabitants, and preparing their Food. The prodigious Affluence of *China* has not corrupted the Inhabitants; Thanks to their Avarice no less than to their Sobriety, by which they have been secured from the Intoxications of Luxury. *Holland* has preserved the *Spartan* Frugality, under a Government diametrically opposite; that is to say, entirely founded on Commerce, Peace, and the Love of Money.

On the contrary, the *English*, though a commercial, are a lavish Nation; and if they are eager in the Pursuit of Riches, it is for a splendid Enjoyment of them. The Wines and Brandies of *France* impart to their melancholic Spirits such enlivening Sensations as they would otherwise be Strangers to. The Use of these Liquors is become necessary to, and proves the chief Delight of the North.

The

The common People being deprived of these Liquors by their Indigence, are reduced to their Beers and other stupifying Liquors, and remain in a Lumpishness, which is a kind of Lethargy in Comparison of our Vivacity. The *Spaniard* sticks to his Roots and Saffron. The *Italian* neglects his Wine: The Fame of his Table is sunk so low, that no Foreigner will stay with him: He confines himself to being prodigal of his iced Liquors at his Entertainments. The eastern People adhere to their antient Sobriety: The Master-piece of their Cookery is Pillau, which is nothing but Kid, Lamb, Mutton or Veal boiled to a Jelly with Rice, and seasoned with Pomgranate-Juice. A *Chinese* or *Japoneſe* Treat, is no' more than a little dried Fish, or Fruit, Dates, Tea, Coffee, and such Trifles. In *Perſia*, the Consumption of Flesh is not proportionably one tenth Part to that in *Europe*. *Chardin* relates, that in the City of *Iſpahan* they killed monthly 2000 Sheep, and in the Suburbs 1500; and Mutton is there the only Butcher's-Meat; yet, *Iſpahan* has not fewer Inhabitants than *Paris*.

But on the other hand, the Prohibition of Wine has thrown them into the Use of Opium; and a thousand made Liquors infinitely more dangerous; and the ill Consequences of this induced the Court of *Perſia* to grant Licences under the Royal Signet

for drinking of Wine; and, but lately, the Ministry of the *Porte* prevailed upon the Ecclesiastics to allow the like Indulgence to the Soldiers in War-time.

No Table can compare with that of the *French* for Elegancy and Exquisiteness, especially in Wines; and possibly, in the last Article, it was not surpassed even by that of the *Romans*: From it all Nations have borrowed their Taste in eating: It presides in the Entertainments of the *Germans*, regulates the Festivities of the remotest northern Courts, and is received even in *England*, enlivening and altering the Genius of those Courts and that of their wealthy Subjects.

CHAP. V.

Of the Transplantation of Men, and the Changes which have happened in Climates and Countries.

CLIMATES are always immutable: Sometimes they are altered by Mutations in Nature itself, or by Dint of human Industry: Therefore, all that is written must be construed according to the Hypothesis of the Identity of the Climate.

For several Ages past, *Italy* has seen very essential Changes in their physical Oeconomy. The Climate has taken a new Turn, as those sharp Winters, of which the Antients

tients complained, have not been felt for some Ages. The Eruptions of Vulcano's, the Appearance of Mines of *Arsenic*, the drying of the Fens of *Ostia* and *Otranto*; all these Particulars, together with the prodigious Difference betwixt the antient and modern *Romans*, evidence an Alteration in the Climate, produced by physical Causes of all Kinds.

How many immense Forests have been cleared in *France* and *Germany*! And thus, as Cultivation gave Fertility to the Earth, so did it bring Salubrity to the Air: *China*, *Perfia*, and the great Monarchies of *Europe*, have been refreshed and fructified by forced Waters and a Multitude of Canals: The rapid Rivers have been brought to flow by the Direction of Industry; Trees have been transplanted to and from different Countries, the several Fruits of the Earth meliorated, the Quality of Waters corrected, dangerous Plants eradicated, Fens drained, the Nature and Powers of Vegetables investigated; the pleasant and healthful Foods and Liquors mutually imported in all trading Places; and all these have occasioned many Changes; In fine, though here is a large Field for Enumeration, Art has provided innumerable Contrivances against the prejudicial Effects of Winter and Summer; so that in all *Europe*, *Turky* is the only Country where 'tis the Policy of the Government to impoverish the

People. Those charming Places, the Theatre of Antiquity, the Nursery of Poets, Philosophers and Heroes, lie now a wild Waste; the few Inhabitants plant and sow only for the Necessities of their Families: So that the Country at any Distance from Towns is overrun with Weeds and Briars.

But the Circulation of Things occasioned by Commerce, is not of that Moment as the Transplantation which human Nature itself has undergone. The Transmigration of People, and the settling of Colonies, have confounded, and in some respects obliterated the Delineations of Characters, as transmitted by the Ancients: *England* softened the Ferocity of its Conquerors, the *Saxons*; for the true *Englishman* was never cruel, as many imagine in *France*; this Prejudice is politically kept up among the Commonalty and Populace, in order to foster the general Animosity of the *French* against that formidable Enemy. The *Turks*, who are the true Descendants of the *Scythians* properly so called, within these two Centuries, not only begun to divest themselves of their Cruelty, but have also departed from their original Valour: They themselves scruple not to acknowledge this great Difference between them and their Ancestors: And thus, for the second Time, has *Greece* enervated its Conquerors.

From

I From the same Causes sprung the Corruptions of the *Galatians*, a Colony of the *Gauls*, inhabiting lesser *Agia*; the Consul *Lucius Memmius* seeing the Soldiers terrified at the Name of *Gauls*, brought them in Heart again, by telling them that the *Galatians*, softened by the Luxuriancy of the Country, were no longer the robust intrepid *Gauls*; and this Observation he owed rather to Experience than to his Philosophy, at least he seems to have had but little Knowledge; for this is he who after conquering *Achaia*, and causing Ships to be laden with the finest Pieces in Painting and Statuary, which the Plunder of *Greece* afforded, told those to whose Care he committed them, that if they came to any Damage, they should make him others at their own Cost.

The *Chinese*, among whom travelling is forbid, and no Foreigners likewise allowed to settle, have adhered to the same Customs, Laws and Usages during the long Successions of thirty imperial Families. The very *English* alter by travelling. The *Dutch* Colonists at *Batavia* seem to have quite forgot their parsimonious Diet in the other Hemisphere, adopting all the luxurious Manners of the *Asiatics*. After two or three Generations at furthest, the Blood loses its primitive Qualities, and those of the Soil manifest themselves in Men, Animals, and Plants.

As my last Reflection on this Head, I shall add, that the Excess of Corruption is grafted on Commerce, where there is a Mixture of Nations. Nothing comes up to the Accounts of *Lima*, *Mexico*, and the *Spanish Settlements*. The Deliciousness of the Country, the Opulence, the Conflux of Traders of different Nations, have given Rise in these Places to such a Medley of Religion and Licentiousness, that the only Parallel History affords, is the Celebration of the foreign Mysteries at *Rome* under its brutal Emperors.

To return to *Europe*, there is now an universal Intercourse betwixt its several Nations; they are linked together not only by Commerce, but Connections of Affairs, Intrigues, Politics, and Sciences quite unknown to Antiquity. The Travels of Persons distinguished by their Rank or Merit, introduce Alterations in the Manners of every Nation; and no Change can be justly termed indifferent, not even that of Fashion; as in Wars and Voyages Men move into foreign Countries, so the Climates in some Degree go along with them; the Ground, the Basis of the Character, is the only Thing which knows no Mutation.

Antiquity, easy in the fortunate Seats where Nature had placed it, and self-sufficient in its Simplicity, did not stand in Need of so much Contrivance and Industry as the Moderns

derns, born in more craving Climates; accordingly, the Variations in the Character of the Antients are not so strongly marked as those of the Moderns. *Egypt*, the Metropolis of the Sciences, majestically staid at home, and, like all the eastern Sages, sparingly communicated its scientifical Treasures to the Strangers who resorted thither: The Priests in particular were surprizingly reserved. Travelling was little practised among the *Hebrews*, and other eastern Nations; this rambling Humour was first set on foot by the *Greeks*, though sometimes on a commendable Motive; and the Curious also flocked from all Parts among them, as now amongst us. Accordingly, the *Romans* and other Nations copied their Manners, and even their Fables; so that when they grew corrupted, the Depravation became general. The *French*, without stirring from home, have given a Turn in considerable Points to the Manners of *Europe*: God grant they may never be the Instruments of corrupting them! Travelling does not obtain much among the *French*; the Enjoyments of Life and the Pleasures of Society are not to be had elsewhere in equal Delicacy; and these draw a vast Resort of Foreigners; for here is nothing of the Stiffness and Gravity of the antient *Egyptians*; the Sciences and Diversions are both easy of Access, and every body rejoices to invite the Stranger

Stranger either to the Improvement of his Faculties or the Gratification of his Senses,

These are the principal Effects of the Climate, in the Air and Elements. Let us now proceed to the Impressions which this general Cause makes on our Bodies, as they are Consequences of physical Effects,

C H A P. VI.

Of the Complexion, Features and Shape of Men in different Climates.

Consecutively to the Division which we have laid down, it may be affirmed, that in Men of the middle Region there is an amazing Variety produced by a general Mixture; as it has been a Custom founded on Nature, for Men to leave the Extremities of Heat and Cold for the middle Region. Accordingly, 'tis in these Countries that the *Scythians, Goths, Turks, Tartars, Arabs, Saracens and Carthaginians* seated themselves. The *Vandals* alone passed over into *Africa*, and from thence were soon expelled. Neither the *Saracens* nor *Romans* penetrated into *Scandinavia* nor *Ethiopia*; accordingly, in this last Country the Inhabitants are all like each other, their Teeth exceeding white, and a Kind of *Simplicity* in their Features. The Externals of Men in the eastern Countries are not so easily determined; for there, *China*

and *Japan* excepted, the perpetual Circulation, the Stealth of the fine Women and young Slaves by the *Tartars*, *Arabs* and *Pirates*, the Marriages of the *Turks* and *Perians* with the *Circassian* and *Georgian* Women, the Recruits of the Sovereign's Officers for War and the Seraglio, produce continual Changes in the Principles of the natural Blood; so that the justest Representation which can be given of the Figure of these People, must be drawn from the Commonality, whose low Circumstances would not permit an Intermixture with foreign Women.

Under the Tropicks Men are quite black, and by a contrary Reason under the arctic Pole they are brown; from the arctic Pole to the 60th Degree, they contract a Redness; from the 60th to the 45th they are pale; from thence they alter to fair till the 30th; and after the yellow Bile mingles with the black, they are of a greenish Cast; till at last they become tawny, and under the Tropicks entirely black.

The Inhabitants of the most northern Regions are extremely pale and lean; red hair'd, a clear Skin, of a middle Stature, broad shoul'der'd, Eyes of a Sea-green, a weak Voice, but far from delicate. The *Germans* and *English* are generally fair.

The northern differ greatly in their Eyes from the southern People, these being black-eyed,

eyed, whereas the Eyes of the former are either of a Sea-green, or a Sky-blue; those of the middle Region again are not unlike Goats Eyes, of a dull brown Yellow. The Colour of the true *German* Eye is deeper than a Sky-blue, without any green or whitish Tinge; it has also something of Mildness in it. The blue of the *Scythians* Eye has a Mixture of white in it.

The Sea-green Colour in the Eye indicates a hot Constitution; the brown yellow are the keenest of all; a Goat is never known to be blear-eyed.

The northern People are generally tall of Stature, with a white Complexion, lank sandy Hair, Sky-blue Eyes, and very sanguine; the southern on the contrary are of a middle Stature, a brown Complexion, black and curling Hair, black Eyes, weak Legs, and deficient in Blood. The Blood of the *Scythians* is gross, like that of Bulls and wild Boars, whereas the southern Blood is as thin as that of Hares or Stags.

From 45 to 75 Degrees there is an Increase of the inward Heat in Men, and Nature observes the same Rule in the lower Hemisphere, beyond the Tropic of *Capricorn*, the Stature of Men lengthening the further their Region is from the Equator, of which the *Patagonians* are an Instance; and *Africa*, on the same Account, affords very few

Herds

Herds of Cattle; scarcely any Goats and Sheep, and these yielded little or no Milk.

Beyond 75 the Cold may be said to scorch the Bodies, not by the inward Heat, but by the very Activity of the Cold penetrating into the most interior Parts, and destroying the Humidity in Bodies as it does in Plants.

The Principle of this Height of Stature is the Heat and Moisture with which these People abound, as do the enormous Seamonsters; and to allay this Heat it is, that they are fonder of Liquors than of solid Foods.

To recapitulate these several Particulars, the southern People are cold in the inward Parts; they are dry, hard, weak, with very little Hair on their Bodies, of a low Stature, curling Hair, a dark brown Skin, black Eyes, a clear mellow Voice; the northern are hot and moist, hairy, robust, fair, tall, their Flesh soft, their Hair lank, their Eyes blue, their Voice deep and inclined to a Base.

A two-fold Objection lies against this Description. You make the Inhabitants of the North robust, and those of the South weakly; yet, according to Historians, Philosophers are in an Error, and 'tis these who are hardy, and the former are weak and tender.

In order to reconcile them, be it observed, that the northern People easily bear Fatigue in cold Countries, the Nature whereof requires

quires hard Labour for their Tillage and Improvement; whereas the eastern Soil is light, fruitful, and rich in natural Advantages and Ornaments. Northern Men coming into a hot Country, melt and languish; and as little can the southern Men bear the Severity of cold Countries; on this Account the *Spaniard* Women call the *Germans* Fishes. The Softness of their Flesh, and Thinness of their Skin, makes the *Flemings* and *Celti*, when in *Italy*, complain bitterly of the Gnats and other Insects, which are little minded by the Natives of the Country.

The Abundance of Moisture, or Siccity, clears up another Difficulty, which to *Tacitus* seemed an Incompatibility in the Temper of the *Germans*. They love Sloth, says he, yet hate Inaction; War is their Delight, yet in Time of Peace they either sleep or feast away the Day; the Principle of this seeming Contradiction is in the Mixture of the inward Heat with Moisture; Heat inciting them to Action and Motion, as in Children; but, as in these, through the Abundance of Moisture, it is soon succeeded by Remissness and Languor; to this it is owing that the *Spaniards* and *Italians* easily repulsed the *Gauls* and *Germans*, after standing the Vigour of their first Efforts.

C H A P. VII.

Ground of the Temperature; common and epidemical Distempers; Duration of Life; Sobriety and Intemperance.

A Greable to the Physicians, we have laid down the black Choler, as the Ground of the Temperament of the southern and eastern People. This Choler separating itself from the Blood, as the Lees and Tartar from Wine, the Movements caused in the Mind by the Choler, have also their Tenacity.

Accordingly, Frenzy is a very common Disorder in those Countries, and even in the southern Parts of *Spain*: Madmen are frequent at *Morocco, Fez*, and in *Andalusia*: *Lycanthropy*, or a strong Imagination of being turned into a Wolf, prevails in the East; and even in *Provence*, at certain Seasons, Men are subject to such manifest Deliriums, that during the Interval, they are kept within Doors; and, to enquire how it is with their Mind, is a Question which gives no manner of Offence; and, among the Natives, the Term for this Distemper is, *has be tacked about?* The southern Madmen talk, are eloquent, and preach in several Languages; whereas that of the Northern is a laughing Frenzy. The southern People are troubled with the falling Sicknes, quartan Agues

Agues and the King's Evil. The reigning Ailments of the North, are Flegm, the Letargy, and all the Consequences of a Plethora and Defluxions. Fevers in *Africa* are rare and moderate, through the Deficiency of inward Heat. *Hippocrates* himself affirms, that the quartan Ague, the Concomitant of Melancholy, after a thorough Cure never returns.

The northern People are subject to quartan Agues, proceeding, from a vitiated Blood, to Swellings, the Epilepsy, Convulsions, and Loss of Sight, according to their remoteness from the middle Regions; of all which the Causes are the Grossness of the Humours, and the Quantity of the Excrements. The middle Region is the unhappy Department of the Plague, owing to the frequent Alterations of the Air in Spring and Autumn, which are, besides, productive of the Erysipelas, Gangrene and Gout.

From whence, many as the Advantages of the middle Region are, it is deducible that the Duration of Life there does not exceed that in the southern Countries, where the Temperament of Men is adapted to the Heat. Historians vary as to the Duration of Life, and 'tis not from the Colour or Beauty of the Face that it is determinable. *Tertullian* mentions the Gauls to have been beautiful, even to a Proverb; he might have added

added the *English* and *Germans*; but Beauty proves nothing in this Case.

For, though the Temperature of the middle Region be the most perfect, yet is not Longevity its infallible Privilege; by the most perfect Temperature, I mean that which forms the best Minds, which are incontestably those of the middle Regions; yet Plants and Stones last longer than Animals, and many of these are much longer lived than Men.

The Mixture of Heat and Moisture is the vital Support of the northern People; the Eastern owe their Duration to the Fewness of Excrements produced in their Bodies; as the less any Plant shoots, the longer it flourishes; besides the Elephant and Palm-Tree, the Diamond and Gold, in short, the most permanent Substances, are of southern Growth. From the Distempers, let us take a View of the different Advantages of the severel Temperatures for War and Generation.

All these Notions lead, by a physical Deduction, to the Solution of a Question, which lies betwixt the Historians and Physicians, who on these Points are almost always apparently at Variance. *Hippocrates*, the only one who out-lived the antient Physic, and may pass both for Antient and Modern, maintains that the *Seythians* are not fit for Women, and that, on the contrary, the

southern People are extremely addicted to them, as to all kinds of Voluptuousness, from the Moisture and Coldness of the Belly; an Opinion, contradicted by many Historians.

But these Differences may be reconciled, by observing that the southern People, from the corrosive Acridity of the Bile, are less fit for Generation, for want of the mature Heat and Moisture in a proper Degree; but that, on the other hand, they feel stronger Stimulations to Voluptuousness; whence proceed those monstrous Copulations, those unnatural Imitations of Beasts, those detestable Refinements by which Nature is adulterated: they are more lascivious, and the Cause of this lies in the Biles, in the Acrimony of the Yellow, and in the flatulent Spirits of the Black.

Aristotle has an Opinion, very contrary to that of Physicians. In his *Politics* he affirms, that warlike People, such as the *Scythians*, are excessively lascivious. This indeed may hold good of warlike People, during the Time of Transmigration, especially, if their Settlement be the Purchase of long and bloody Wars; but, this is not so much to be referred to the Constitution, as to the Manners of a military Life, whose Ignorance, the Excesses of the Table, Idleness, the Plunder of Towns, where the Persons of the Vanquished, even by the Law of the *Hebrews*, were the Soldiers Prize, prompted to those Vices,

Vices, with which this Philosopher brands the *Spartans* and *Scythians*.

Nothing is more manifest, than that the *Germans* and *Anglo-Saxons*, when once they came to be settled, were less inordinate to the Love of Women, than the People of the East. It is beyond all Dispute that the Inhabitants of the North and cold Countries, are of a less amorous Constitution than the *Italians*, *Spaniards* and the eastern People who incline southwards; and these People being by Constitution more lascivious, are less disposed and less fit for War than the others.

In these Distinctions Nature has sensibly pointed out the People, who are destined to Superiority and Empire. All the great Monarchies have been founded by the People of the middle Region, who have extended their Conquests over the eastern Countries. Eloquence, War, Law, Navigation and Commerce, seem to be their peculiar Portion; but as these People are better adapted, for that Increase so necessary for Conquests, and the several Works and Employments of Society, they are not so passionately affected by the Allurements of Voluptuousness, which *Cicero* so justly calls the Movement of the Mind the most pernicious to Philosophy.

Without entering into all these Reasonings, *Vitruvius*, like a true *Roman*, who seemed to suck in the Notion of universal Empire

with their Mothers Milk, observes, that the Gods had placed *Rome* in the middle of the World, and in the most temperate Climate, as an Indication that it was to be the Sovereign City of the Universe.

C H A P. VIII.

Of other bodily Qualities peculiar to Nations of different Climates; Voices, Pronunciations, and Languages.

THE preceding general Ideas of the Constitution naturally lead to, and facilitate the Investigation of the particular Qualities.

Among the Easterns, Convulsions are frequent, not only in Sickness but in Health, and at the bare Recital of a Story, or the Delivery of a Piece of Eloquence, as at the Sight of some Object, being lean and dry, their whole nervous System so supple, and their Blood so spirituous and heated, Vehemence in their Actions and Gestures is natural to them: accordingly they express their Sensations by Cries, lifting up the Arms, and a Motion of their whole Body; and these strong Sensations are often excited by Objects, which do not in the least ruffle our phlegmatic Equanimity. In *Denmark* and *Sweden*, preaching is a lifeless Unison without any Modulations of the Voice;

whereas

whereas an *Italian* Preacher seems to take Fire, throws himself from one side of the Pulpit to the other, and raises and lowers his Voice to both Extremes; and thus his feigned tions are realised in the Auditory.

The northern Voice is harsh, grave or hoarse; in the *Spaniards, Ethiopians and Cartaginians*, it is shrill and clear; and this is not the mere Effect of the Heat, which dilating the Organs of itself, would rather produce a hoarse and strong Voice, but of an accidental Insinuation of Dryness with Cold. Now the Velocity of the Undulations from hard and dry Bodies, gives a shrill Impulse to the Air; whereas Moisture relaxing the Bodies, the Vibrations being less interrupted, their Sound is low. Moisture in Lead and green Wood produces a dull Sound: Women being colder than Men, their Voice is also an Octave from ours. Under a middle Temperature the Voice is sweet, mellow and sonorous, as that of the *French, Italians, and Asiatics*.

Thus the Climate is seen to have a considerable Influence on the Utterance. They who are very far North, draw their Words, as it were, from their Breast, and pronounce the Consonants harshly. Their continual Aspirations proceed from the Impetuosity of the animal Spirits, struggling for a Vent against the Impressions of the external Cold. The *Saxons* and the Inhabitants of the *Baltic*,

cannot forbear giving a sharp Pronunciation to labial Words, as *pipimus* for *bibimus*, *finum* for *vinum*. The eastern People, the *Hebrews*, the *Syrians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Arabians*, seem to check and break the Sound in the Throat: The western People, again, stifle it betwixt the Teeth; and the Pronunciation of the Inhabitants of the more temperate Countries is chiefly performed with the Edge of the Lips. That of the *Germans* is pectoral; the *French* pectoral, guttural and nasal; and is, of all *European* Pronunciations the sweetest, not excepting the *Italian* itself, which even at *Rome*, and in the Mouths of Ladies of the highest Rank, did not seem to me to come up to the Delicacy and Melody of the *Gallic* Pronunciation: There is still in it something of a guttural Roughness, of which a *French* Ear is, perhaps, naturally the best Judge in the World. It is true, that our Language is a little deficient in Prosody, or at least Endeavours are not wanting to disrobe it of what sensible Quantity it had, and from the Maxim, that the best Accent is to have no Accent; which, though of courtly Origin, is extremely injudicious.

To us the *Englishman* seems to hiss; the Pronunciation of the *Romans* was harsh, as *Cicero* himself allows; accordingly he his charmed with the Dialect of his Mother-in-law *Lælia*, the Asperity of the common

Pro-

Pronunciation receiving such a Softness in her Mouth; and afterwards gives an undeniable Reason for it, that, abstractedly from the Difference of the Organs, Women seldom or never travelling, are the less exposed to bad Imitations, and consequently keep more correctly to the Purity of the Pronunciation and Language. Thus the Genius, Force, Figure, Extent and Riches of a Language are every where in Men's Hands; but of the Pronunciation, the Accent, and that Use of Terms which is called the *Propriety*, 'tis the Ladies that are the Standard: This is the best Construction we can put on *Socrates's* Words, when he calls the People an excellent Master of Speech, never wresting a Word from its usual, antient, and natural Import: Doubtless the Sage herein had an Eye first to the Citizens of an ingenuous Education, secondly to the Ladies and Citizens of the highest Rank, who must not take it in dudgeon to be on this Occasion ranked with the People; as 'tis only in Contradistinction to Lawyers and Scholars; for a Community is very properly divided into Scholars, Connoisseurs, and the People.

To close this Chapter of Pronunciation, the *Frenchman* having so very little of Accent and Prosody, may be accounted as the Antipodes of the *Chinese*, whose Accent is varied by such an infinite Number of Inflexions, that nothing less than the concurrent

Testimony of the Missionaries could gain Credit to it ; the same Word uttered with different Accents, in a higher or a lower, on a sharper or a graver Tone on the first or last Syllable, shall have twenty different Meanings. The *Chinese*, confined from the earliest Ages to their Empire without any intimate Commerce with Foreigners, have been able to do whatever they would; and the Scholars continuing Directors of the Forms of Speech, and their Example, however forced or whimsical, give Laws to the Organs and Intellects of the People.

C H A P. IX.

Some Reflections on the Dress of Nations.

THESE Reflections shall be but few and cursory, the different Habits of Nations being no sufficient Ground for characteristic Observations; yet nothing is more certain, than that the Beard gives a different Cast to the Face, and no less does the long Robe to the Body. This is still the Garb of the eastern People, and to this Day the *Perians* pride themselves in wearing *Cyrus's* Cap, and other Parts of their Apparel in Imitation of their illustrious Founder. The *French* alter every Spring, and always with some Improvement; their Fashions are a Rule to all *Europe*, and the Ladies in the

four Parts of the World have such a high Value for them, that they are sent for not only from the North, but from *Constantinople* and *Ispahan*. 'Tis not only their own Fashions which become the *French*, but they most happily imitate foreign Dresses; however disguised, they still have the genteel Air: Whereas other Nations only expose themselves in aping them, having none of those natural Graces which give an Agreeableness to every thing.

The Beard is now left off by all *Europeans*; yet the Manner of adjusting and trimming it in the two last Centuries, gave, especially to *French* Faces, a more significant Physiognomy than the smooth Chins.

For, another Attribute of the human Figure, is that Result of the Features and Lineaments which constitutes the Physiognomy, and indicates the inward Temper. A complete Actor should intimate in his Countenance the Part he is going to act. These speaking Physiognomies are chiefly to be met with in *Italy*, *Spain*, on the Coast of *Africa*, and at *Constantinople*.

That of the *English* is peculiar to themselves, but nearly one and the same throughout the whole Country. The *Chinese* have been at some Pains to make themselves more ridiculous than Nature designed them by modelling, or rather distorting the Features of Infants. The *Negroes* are all like each other;

other ; the *Germanis* and most of the northern People have little or no Physiognomy, though the *Polish Garb*, with the Gravity of of their Furs and the Richness of their Arms, seems to supply that Deficiency.

Let certain Foreigners say what they will, Physiognomy there is in *France*, and of the serious Kind too ; there can be nothing more in Character, more noble, than the Carriage of military Men in this Kingdom, War spreading its manly Varnish over those delicate Faces, has given Force and Dignity to the Physiognomy, as the Figures in a Picture are heightened by the Shades. True it is, that in *France* these expressive Physiognomies are not so frequent as in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the East. The Desire of pleasing, and a social Disposition, correct the exterior, and keep as it were both Body and Soul from inclining entirely to one Side, and this is what produces Physiognomy ; for generally speaking 'tis the Strength of Passions, the Intenseness of Thoughts, the Violence of Dispositions which impress the Physiognomy, as appears in the People of the South and the *Spaniards*. In *France* our Passions being checked by Decency, and our Manners fettered by Custom and Ceremony, are mostly kept in due Balance. We, like the more northern People, carry the Head upright, as if proud of the sparkling Eye, the ruddy Cheek, the cheerful Aspect, Effects of a Copiousness of Blood

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and

and Spirits; whereas the Gait of southern People is grave, with the Eyes downwards. The Elegance or Aukwardness of Attitude and Demeanor, seems to alter the Physiognomy as expressive of the Character; Painters being fonder of Originals in those Countries than in *France*, where they complain of a Scarcity of Heads in which there is any thing singular.

To this Enumeration of physical Effects, produced by Causes of the same Kind, must be connected the moral Effects, if the Expression may be allowed; by *moral Effects* I here mean such as are produced in the Soul, or which at least have an intimate Connexion with it, though at the same Time not independent of the Body.

C H A P. X.

Of *Sensations in general, and their different Degree.*

THE southern People being naturally inclined to Pensiveness, confine themselves within a small Number of Words, Objects and Ideas; from this State of the Mind the Body derives a mutable Habit, a phlegmatic, composed and severe Exterior; and hence it is that these serious or even austere Faces, these denotative Visages, break out into Sallies, which have all the Stamp of Origi-

Originality, as among the *Spaniards* and *Italians*. These Flights may be compared to Meteors shooting along the Sky in a dark Night, or to the Lights in the upper Part of a Picture, which spread a Chearfulness and Spirit through the whole Representation.

These People, enraptured with the Sight of the Heavens and the Sun, which their Horizon shews in greater Purity and Splendor, and seduced by the Allurements of their Climate, a meditative Disposition easily gains upon them: And moreover, the Loftiness of the Nation grafts itself upon the external Allurements of Philosophy. Their antient Teachers and Legislators, the Philosophers in *Greece*, the *Magi* in the East, *Confucius* in *China*, the Priests in *Egypt*, the *Caliphs* in *Spain*, the Sages in *Venice*, the Popes in *Italy*, made of Morality and Gravity a national Virtue, which among Posterity is no more than an hypocritical Parade; they are naturally more gay and sportive than they permit themselves to appear, demurely sitting on the Floor in Company, and often at their Diversions with a Gravity becoming a Council, and ridiculing the Levity of *European* Usages. What a Contrast is here to the *French*, with whom there can be no Chearfulness without Noise and Motion!

"Tis thus, and no further, these People affect Philosophy: Let us now examine them in those Arts which depend on the Organs of

the Senses, as Music, Luxury, Dancing, &c. which are mostly of eastern Origin. That God inspired his Prophets in the Manner best adapted to their Imagination and Temperament, is a Fact which has ever been allowed by the most cautious Divines. The Prophets were dancing and prophesying when *Saul* came to them; Devotion and Prophecy were generally accompanied with vocal and instrumental Music.

Of this there are other Examples of equal Proof, though taken from a false Religion; the *Mabometan* Monks and Hermits, in their Extasies, whirl themselves round with inconceivable Rapidity: The *Dervishes* receive their Sultans under such heavenly Convulsions. Among other Airs which the Curious have caused to be engraved, is the Dance performed by these Monks when they went to meet *Amurath*; the Note and Movement of it are 6. 4. Thus among the *Mabometans*, Music and Dancing are the peculiar Privilege of the Religious, and those who are held to be inspired; whereas they are interdicted to other Men; an Injunction which is a most painful Restraint to the *Levantines* and all the Orientals.

But if dancing be of eastern Invention, its Perfection is owing to *France*, whose Pudicity has corrected the *Motus Ionicus*, or the libidinous Gestures of the East, substituting graceful Motions and solemn Figures in the

room of the fantastic Skips and Capers of *Italy*. The Art of Pantomimey belongs to *Greece*, and its Corruption is lamented by *Plato*, though he saw it only in its Infancy. The Diversions even of the eastern Courts consist of Tumblers and Posture-masters, which outdo any thing of the Kind among us; these Artists in *India* despise those of *Constantinople* as much as the *Turkish* do the *Italian*; and these make themselves Amends by despising ours and the *English*.

Corruption has accompanied all the Arts both in the East and South. That same *Egypt* which had supplied the World with Sages, likewise deluged *Rome* with Perfumers, Tumblers, Quacks, Conjurers, Astrologers, Cooks, Pantomimes, and all the Instruments of Folly and Licentiousness. After them, the *Greeks* furnished their Neighbours far and near with Personages of the same respectable Professions. Since the *Greeks*, *Europe* has been beholden to the *Italians* for them; and now the *English* charge us with some of these Articles. The *Gascons*, who are of a southern Province, turn these Talents to good Account all over *France*; for Intrigue, and the Art of pleasing, arise from the Disposition and Suppleness of the Body; they are not to be equalled in the Talent of Insinuation; the Address of Intrigue in amorous Sallies, wanton Tales, and Ballads, of which the Diction is not more animated than their

their Pronunciation is piquant and prosodaical.

Thus the East is by Nature the Seat of Delight, by the Serenity of the Sky, the Luxuriancy of the Soil, its rich Productions, and the Fineness of the Organs and Activity of the Spirits. *Athenaeus* relates incredible Refinements in Voluptuousness among the *Orientals*; and the like in *Italy* are within our own Knowledge. *Anthony*, one of the most consummate Debauchees of *Rome*, then in a State of excessive Debauchery, and who was peculiarly stiled *Nobilissimus Decoctor*, was so rallied by *Cleopatra*, that he owned himself and the *Romans* to be but dull *Barbarians* in the Science of Voluptuousness. Tis the *French* who have taught all *Germany*, and even *Holland* itself, the Conveniencies and Enjoyments of Life; for when, about sixty Years ago, great Numbers fled into those Countries, where, amongst the principal Men, even Princes of the Empire, they found a Plainness bordering upon Austerity.

Let us view these People in their social Meetings and Parties of Pleasure: The *Italian*, at a Spectacle, keeps to that rigid Gravity, which is the Characteristic, though far from an amiable one, of that Nation; yet these same Persons, even the *Venetian* Senators, at their Seats, are communicative; and are gay with those whom they account worthy

worthy of their Friendship. The *Frenchman*, at length, has the Satisfaction of seeing his Taste for Profuseness, Luxury, Feasting, Dancing, and the Ladies, followed in all the Parts of *Europe*, which he may look upon as of his own polishing.

The *Italian* had ever an Aversion to noisy Assemblies. At their Spectacles and Entertainments there is a Silence, by which their Attention is kept on the Motions of the Soul; so that which the *Frenchman* seems to shun, the *Italian* is seeking himself: This proceeds from the Superficialness of our Joy; we are agitated without Passions, and most of our Sensations are but Skin-deep.

The Gaiety of the *French*, like that of Women, is all outward; and being seldom rooted in the Heart, easily breaks out: It delights in Rattle, Tumult, and public Appearance. The *Italian*'s main Attention is to keep his Heart composed; yet have the gravest Politicians their Meetings, where they give Vent to their Sentiments, and arraign the Administration; but 'tis in the Spectacles, wherein the Decorations of the fine Arts, and the Exquisiteness of Music, that Nation pours forth all the Riches of its inimitable Imagination. No small Part of a *Frenchman*'s Happiness lies in the Opinion others have of it; and to remove any Doubt (which would overload his whole Life) he is ever talking of the Cause of his Plea-

Pleasures, their Fixedness and Raptures. The *Italian* keeps his Pleasures to himself, and more wisely places all his Satisfaction in his own Opinion and Sensations. Company is the *Frenchman's* Element, and there the Eyes and Heart fluctuate amidst an endless Variation of Objects. The solitary *Italian* and *Spaniard* give themselves up to one particular Pleasure, which they never leave till they have drained, wrapping themselves up in their own Complacency. The *Frenchman*, ever volatile and fickle, seldom has any thing beyond Tastes, whilst those sedate Folks have Sentiments and Sensations.

Further, *French Gaiety* is a Flame of a thousand Colours, bright but transient. The Fire of the *Italian* is vehement, but it never blazes beyond its Hearth. The Fire of the *English* is pale and fuliginous, pervading all Parts of the Body; but the Heat, so far from being kindly, disorders the Faculties and produces Vapours; such is the Temper of the *English*, melancholy and frantic in their Pleasures. In the *Italic* Class I comprehend the *Spaniards* and the *Orientals* in their respective Degrees: To that of the *English* belong their northern Neighbours, and other Nations of the like atrabilarious Humour.

French Gaiety is like those light sparkling Wines, full of Spirits, but which quickly

E evapo-

evaporate ; the *Italian Temper* is a racy strong-bodied Wine, but which, withal, is Cordial : The Joy of the *English* may be compared to a heady and intoxicating made Liquor.

The People below this third Degree, as the *Laplanders* and those who are in the very Extremities of Heat and Cold, being lifeless and torpid, cannot be included in these Classes ; and are, besides, but imperfectly known : So that a more general Delineation of the Heart and Mind of those before-mentioned Nations, is all that remains to be done.

CHAP. XI.

General Sketch of the Heart and Mind.

THE Disquisition of that Virtue called Humanity, is more critical than at first Sight it appears, on account of the opposite Qualities with which it is frequently blended.

The *Orientals* are naturally Philosophers ; than which Disposition none is nearer a-kin to Humanity : *Omnis Humanitas ab Orientalibus defluxit.* Chardin scarce ever saw any public Punishments in *Perſia* ; but one Man executed in twelve Years : Quarrels, Bloodshed, Housebreaking, are very seldom heard of there. The very *Arabs*, though

living in a State of War and Rapine, never kill, unless drove to an Extremity by Resistance. The Grand Seignor's Dominions, *Perſia* and *India*, abound with Hospitals all richly endowed. Alms is a fundamental Article of the *Mahometan* System, and none more religiously observed. The Tenderness of the *Orientals* to the Living exceeds all our Benevolence; and we are as far below them in regard to the Dead.

Yet it is this Race, particularly the *Carthaginians*, that gave the first Example of those refined Punishments; such as plucking out the Eyes, sawing off Limbs, fleaving, burning with a slow Fire, and impaling; so that their Cruelty must be accounted deliberate, and the Effect of Meditation and profound Sentiments overpowering Nature. They are not soon provoked, but their Reſentments are fierce and lasting, according to the Nature of black Choler. *Polybius* describes the People of the East and South as cruel, perfidious, violent and jealous, Cruelty proceeding from a Reflection which has, for a long Time, had Scent of its Object. The Cruelty of northern People, on the contrary, is a sudden Motion of Barbarism unapt for Reflection; they cannot suppress the Violence of Rage; and it is rather Ardour than the Rules of War, or any premeditated Cruelty which prompt them to pursue their Enemies. The natural Barbarity of their

Minds renders them both profuse and rapacious; whereas the southern People are thrifty and avaricious.

As to the Character of their Mind, like that of their Heart, it cannot be better shewn than by historical Evidence. The Orientals have founded vast Empires, which they were not able to maintain by force of Arms. The antient *Egyptians*, the *Chineſe*, *Indians*, the *Asiatics* despise War and the Soldiery, as do even the People under the *Turkisſh* Sway; 'tis the Court only, and the Dependants on the Government, that are Military.

Empires have stretched themselves towards the South, and from West to East. The *Aſſyrians* conquered the *Chaldeans*, the *Medes* the *Aſſyrians*, the *Greeks* the *Perſians*, the *Romans* the *Greeks* and *Carthaginians*, the *Goths* the *Romans*, the *Turks* the *Arabs*, the *Tartars* the *Turks*, the *Picts* the *Britons*. 'Twas not till after other Nations had been subdued, that the *Romans* ventured to march into *Gaul*, and then under the redoubted *Cesar*, and taking Advantage of the Civil Wars which raged in those Provinces. *Julian*, who had governed the several Nations of the Empire, found most Temper and Pliantness in the *Syrians*, *Perſians*, *Parthians*, and those Provinces which lay towards the East and South: And, on the other hand, *Cesar* relates, that the best Soldiers

diers were the *Gascons*, the People of *Guyenne*, and the Country bordering upon the Province of *Narbonne*.

It is true, that the *Scythians* and northern People have often been dispossessed of their Conquests ; but the Reason hereof is directly opposite : these wanted Strength of Mind, as the other Strength of Body. And it is not often these go together ; the Mind suffers by the Vigour of the Body. *Cesar*, *Alexander*, the most famous Captains, the most able Ministers, and great Men in general, have not been remarkable for Large-ness of Size, or Hardiness of Constitution.

'Tis the Men of the middle Region only, whom Nature, together with a competent Share of Strength, has endued with Valour to acquire, and Wisdom to preserve Kingdoms. Public Affairs, and not Mechanics, or the abstruse Sciences, seem to be what they are born for ; so that if they do not excel in Music and Painting, 'tis from their Sagacity that the World holds Law, Physic, Eloquence, Logic, the Drama, the Art of War, Navigation, Commerce, whose immense Extent, Depth of Calculations, and various Systems, were unknown to Antiquity, and still are to the *Orientals*.

Africa affords but few *Civilians*, and O-rators are as scarce ; the North is neither the Region of *Civilians* nor Poets ; and Trade itself makes no great Figure there. *Julian*

further informs us, that the *Celtæ* preferred *Logic* and Eloquence, to Philosophy and the Mathematics. Although by the Progress of Things, and the Facility of Methods, the abstruse Sciences are spread throughout all *Europe*, and the *French* and *English* have excelled in them; yet, is it not the less true, that their Rise is from the East; and that in *Europe* the Study of them is very subordinate to the Civil Law, Eloquence, Commerce, the Art of War, &c. whilst in the East, they still retain the Precedence, of which *China* is a signal Instance.

Thus the southern People addict themselves to Contemplation, the speculative and scholastic Philosophy, Magic, the Study of Religion, Morality, and the Mathematics; which the *Saracen Caliphs* cultivated with so much Reputation. They withdraw from Business, and seek Solitude, the better to be absorbed in that profound Meditation, which, by the *Academics* and *Hebrews* has been termed *the precious Death*. The eastern *Sages* appear above, and the *Europeans* shew themselves equal to Business, *Pares negotiis*: a Set of Men, in the Opinion of *Tacitus*, beyond all others the fittest for Government, to which nothing is more contrary than a too great Subtilty of Genius. From this, within a few Centuries, the *Athenians* and *Florentines* altered and shifted their Government above a hundred Times, whilst the plain good

good Sense of the *Lombard* fixed that of *Venice* on a permanent Foundation, the same now as many Ages ago. Is there, after this, any room for Amazement at the infinite Number of Monks in the East, at the Austerity of their Faits, and the implicit Veneration in general for Despotism. *Isocrates* mentioning *Busiris*, says, his chusing *Egypt* to be the Scene of his arbitrary Will, and to exercise his Tyranny upon, was judicious, and shewed a Knowledge of Nature; besides, the further South, the more tenacious are the People of their Religion. The Oriental Priests were once in greater Repute than any; these ambitious Ecclesiastics having engrossed Physic, History, and all Literature to themselves, they rather ruled than instructed the People. The *Caliph*, as supreme Head of the *Ishmaelite* Church, affected a Majesty that seemed to claim a Kind of Adoration. The People of our Continent have shewn little Settledness in Religion; they were such ductile Converts, that the Promulgators of the Gospel had in one single Year a richer Harvest among us, than in a whole Century among the perverse Orientals; but withal being fickle, and ready to fall in with the Humours of their Princes, they lent an Ear to all Controversies and Innovations.

The nothern Nations, properly speaking, have not excelled in Polity, comparably to the middle Regions, or, at least were flower in

their Progresses. The Abundance of Blood and Spirits disqualifies them for Speculation, which is carefully to be distinguished from what is called assiduous Labour, *Labor improbus*. But directing our Thoughts towards *Germany*, it is to this Country we owe the Invention of Artillery, and the casting of Metals; hence came Printing and the whole Train of Mechanic Arts; in short, the Arts which depend on Skill and the Strength of the Hand; they level Mountains, and turn the Courses of Rivers.

Nothing remains but, by way of Recapitulation, to bring the Premises into one Point of View, and reconcile the Philosophers and Historians, who often clash in their Accounts and Judgments of these two Divisions of different Nations.

C H A P. XII.

A summary Judgment on the Ground of the Character of those Nations: Variances betwixt Historians and Philosophers.

IN this Parallel, the Historians favour the northern, and the Philosophers declare for the southern People. The former, taken with the practical Virtues of Society, and charmed with the Administration of Justice, Courage, Freedom, useful Arts, and the Extent of Commerce, could not but prefer the

northern

northern Nations. The Philosophers, dazzled with the Richness of oriental Imagination, Politeness, Religion, Philosophy, and the Invention of Arts, have extolled the southern Nations: Manners determined one Opinion, and Genius the other.

It must, besides, be owned that Crimes strike more than Virtue, and Action than Rest. Among the southern People all is Excess, *summa vitia, summæ virtutes.* Religion was their Invention, and by Magic they corrupted it; they are as warm as perfidious in their Friendship; from them are derived the most cruel Punishments, and the most humane Sentiments. No sooner had they planned civil Government, than they introduced Despotism; temperate, so as to seem of a different Nature from the People of the North, yet unnaturally voluptuous; at once both Philosophers and Enthusiasts.

Their prominent Faults have caused all Historians to revile them; the Inactivity of their fine Qualities making little Impression on those who see only through a political Medium.

The greatest Vices and Virtues are thus equally the Growth of the most towering Geniuses, and strongest Imaginations. To give a concise Sketch of the Character of the southern Countries, Nature works there in Extremes; *Africa monstrorum ferax.* It is in the South and East that are produced the most

most extraordinary Effects ; Monsters, and the most laborious Animals ; Poisons, and the most effectual Antidotes ; Gold and other precious Substances. They afford Personages equal to the most famous Republicans, mingled with the basest Slaves : Heroic Acts of Religion, and the most stupid Superstitions ; there is seen a Delight in Philosophy, even to Solitude, and an Ambition sticking at no Enormity ; Charity carried to Magnificence, and Parimony to Sordidness ; Love to voluntary Death, and Jealousy to raging Madness : The Sovereign, who in his Rewards is munificent as the Gods, in his Revenges is as cruel as the wild Beasts ; the same Day has often seen a Man Vizir, and Brother-in-law to his Prince, scourged like a Slave, and punished like one of the Population.

Thus have we enumerated the principal Effects of physical Causes on the different Nations, as a proper Introduction to the Body of the Work ; proceeding in order to the second Kind, or moral Causes.

BOOK II.**C H A P. I.***Of the moral Causes of the Genius of Nations.*

IT is a very proper Definition of moral Causes, that they are such as do not increase Wit, but are only an Occasion of improving Men's Genius.

Institution to a People is as Education to Individuals: By Institution I mean the first Legislation, or Form which a Nation receives from its original Laws and Customs; this, however, is not to be so strictly understood, as to exclude all shorter or longer Duration of the Progress of these Laws.

It ought previously to be owned, that as to certain philosophical Points, the Institutions of modern Nations are not to be compared to those of the Antients, as almost all these had the Advantage of being founded by Philosophers. *Athens* and *Sparta* were the two first formed States of *Greece*. *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, who had seen the Success of the Plan conducted by *Minos* in *Crete*, and who partly copied after that wise Prince, erected

erected those two celebrated Republics. The sagacious System of *Egypt* served as a Model to all the East.

It is true that the Rudiments took Effect with much more Readiness from the Circumstances of the early Ages, and were of considerable Advantage to them that lived about the Time of the Origin of Things.

The Patriarchs had kept Mankind to a strict Simplicity of Usages and Manners of living. Ambition, the Refinements of Life procured by Arts and Sciences, the tumultuous Passions and Luxury of Cities, were either little known, or wanted Opportunities of declaring themselves: So that the Temper of these People is partly to be attributed to the favourable Epocha of their Existence. The first Legislator was at full Freedom in his Arrangements. To work upon ingenuous Tempers, happily prepared by rational Customs, was a great Advantage. These Legislators living in the Infancy of Nature, adapted their so wise and mild Institutions to a rural Life, to Philosophy, Religion, Poetry, and the necessary Arts. There is no remembrance without Rapture, that their first Princes and Heroes were not above an Attention to Husbandry, that they handled the Spade and directed the Plow. As to these Articles there's no Comparison.

The *Orientals* and *Hebrews* were the Parents of Knowledge, and the *Greeks* no more than

than their Scholars: How gross their Notions of Prudence and Virtue, till *Orpheus* and the travelled Philosophers taught them better! *Grotius*, in his Treatise *de jure belli et pacis*, very seldom quotes *Homer*; and when he does, 'tis the *Odyssey*, the Work of that Poet's declining Years, who very probably had swam with the vulgar Stream in his high Estimation of bodily Strength and Courage, or, what is much the same, had never determinately compared these Articles; yet, this Poet lived in the maturer Ages of the World; for amidst all the Variances about the Date of his Birth, it falls in pretty near the Time of *Pythagoras* and the first Philosophers.

Thus was it from the Philosophers by Profession, that the *Greeks* derived their Virtues and Politeness, and accordingly retained a respectful Sense of the Benefit: Philosophy was in some Sense a Native of *Greece*, though transplanted thither from the East as an honourable Attribute. In *France*, any slight Difference of Garb, or Manner of living, disgusts us extremely; but, in *Greece*, the most momentous and most honourable Offices of the State were conferred on Philosophers: That People did not take upon them to ridicule the Singularities of Philosophers, as they seemed originally to have a Connexion with a Virtue which was then peculiar to them; a Circumstance wanting among the

Romans

Romans, and even among the primitive Christians.

Further, the eastern Eyes had ever been accustomed to the Exterior of Philosophers, by their own Beards and long Robes; and without doubt, 'tis to our disuse of those venerable Habits, and the substituting airy Dresses in their Stead, that was owing the Declension of Gravity throughout the *French* Nation.

The Antients were brought up in Arts, Spectacles, and literary Assemblies; Rest was what they generally sought, and we are all for Motion. Our Institutions were formed in the Midst of War; The Manners afterwards softening, we fell under the Masters of the Barbarian Schools. There was not so much as one regular Language in all *Europe*; the *Latin* was in a Manner forgot, and such were the Defects and Rusticity of the other, that Gibberish was a fitter Name for them than Language.

Thus the Fundamentals of our Institution are War, Nobility and Honour; three Points exactly correspondent, and the Supports of Monarchy: To these we add, a free Commerce with Women, who, among all the Antients, the *Romans* excepted, were Reluses.

But though it was with some Reason that the *Constantinopolitan Greeks*, seeing the high-spirited Heroes of the *Cruzades*, could say, that

that Lionesses and Bears had suckled them ; yet in the Tenour of our first Laws they might have discerned the Seed of those Qualities which have so gloriously distinguished *Europe* from the other Parts of the World. *Polity* has left us nothing to complain of.

"Tis on very weak Reasons that the most antient Nations admitted of Slavery ; Poverty, a casual Sale, and an Exchange of Goods for Slaves, these were its Beginnings : The policed *Grecians* abated nothing of the Rigidity of natural Right. Our Fathers, though Force was their only Law, yet they mitigated the Exertion of it, and by exchanging Servitude, properly so termed, which they never did revive against less odious Privileges, they made the first Step towards the Dignity of Man. Nothing deserves more Notice than the Spirit and Firmness of our first Institutions. Our Founders, though Barbarians, were Heroes. Those of Antiquity were either Philosophers, perhaps unjust to the People whom they held in Contempt, or Politicians of depraved Knowledge. This View of general Institutions prepares for more particular Disquisitions. Such were the Advantages, and such the capital Imperfection of the antient Institutions ; in Manners they surpassed us, in Policy we outdo them.

C H A P. II.

*Of the Institutions of particular Nations, and
of the first of the Greeks.*

IN the fundamental Plan of States, the Legislator always recommends and enforces a Liking to some favourite Virtue, that it may be so deeply impressed on the infant People, as to become the public Passion, the Criterion of the Nation, and an Incentive to glorious Actions; and herein a prudent Legillator carefully studies the Bent of his People, that he may accommodate his Plans to their Dispositions; this we shall prove and illustrate by Instances.

Commerce, which took its Birth among the antient Nations, is to this Day the reigning Character, the favourite Occupation of the Orientals, honoured no less by the Sovereign than the People. Among most of the European Nations, its Progress has been obstructed by other foreign Causes. This Profession, though so necessary, is but a Degree above the Handicrafts. Their particular Situation, and the Republican Form of their Government, of all the best adapted to Commerce, have induced *England* and *Holland* to confer very valuable Privileges and Honours on Traders. The Princes of *China*, and the Legislators among the *Hebrews*, turned the Genius of their Nation

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towards the Finesse of Polity, of which Vestiges are still manifest in their Government.

Veneration and Belief of Traditions were brought from *Egypt* by the *Hebrew Doctors*, and by them disseminated through the East, who carry them to the highest pitch; and it is in the History of these Nations, where is most especially seen what lasting Impressions of Authority are made on the Mind by original Institutions; but as a Multitude of Examples would be prolix, we shall select a few from the *Greeks*, as most interesting to the Reader.

Lacedemon owed its Virtue to *Lycurgus*, who had laid down such an Education of Youth, as is still accounted one of the Prodigies of Antiquity. Let no Offence be taken, that in this Age we presume to set in public View a Representation of the *Spartan* and *Athenian* Institutions, the Colours of which have survived, in their full Lustre, all the Injuries of Time.

The *Spartan* Nurses used no swaddling Cloaths for Infants. The Mothers themselves went on the Field of Battle, and rejoiced over such of their Sons who had gallantly died for their Country, and killed those who had misbehaved. The Sacrifice for the most complete Victory was no more than a Cock; and the Honour of an Epitaph was limited to Men killed in War, or to

Women dying in child-birth. The young Women went bare-faced, contrary to the *Grecian Custom*, and wrestled with Youths at the public Sports, in such a Way as is not decent to mention. The Wisdom of those Ages had not then found any better Remedy against the Impulses of Nature, than to accustom the Senses to the Objects of the Stimulation.

After marriage it was quite the reverse; the Husband was not to see his Wife but privately, and after eluding the Snares laid for him; the philosophic Legislator conceiting, that the Stratagems of War could not be better learned than in the artful School of Love. The Trial of bold Spirits was indeed something severe, whipping them with Rods at the Altar of *Diana*; yet he allowed of Theft, if dexterously performed: But to breed up Heroes and Robbers in the same City, was too great an Undertaking.

Thus *Lacedemon* gave a Republican Impression to its Citizens, which in Time came to run in the Blood; however, its martial Genius did not disdain the Cunning of the *Greeks*, as appears among other Things, from the Law, which conferred extraordinary Honours on him who beat the Enemy by Surprise, or by Favour of the Night; whereas, the *Romans* allowed the Triumph only to a pitched Battle: But the *Romans* of the first Ages make a different Appearance.

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Further, Virtue was held of no account at *Sparta*, than as it was connected with Polity, and useful to the Republic: As to its essential Beauty, they had not so much as any Idea of it, and as little were they acquainted with Literature; its Foundations were War and the Love of Liberty, and to these they kept; these were its Talents, these its Virtues. Equity and Hospitality were of no Weight with them; they made no Scruple of breaking the most binding Tyes for their Country; this was their Deity, to whom they were ready to sacrifice every Thing.

Lycurgus had suppressed the use of Gold and Silver: he composed but one Code for the Laws and Practices of Society, which was all that a small Republic wanted. Thus, in the *Spartan* Education, I find a Mixture of the grand and terrible, to which I know not what Name to give, nor under what Predicament to class. They murthered such Children as were sickly, or of an unpromising Body; of the Decorums of Pudicity there was not any Shadow amongst them. *Lacedemon* exploded some Virtues, in order to promote a more exact Observation of those which it had chosen to be the Support of the State. *Lycurgus* had insinuated into the Fundamentals of *Sparta* an Atheism, which the People gave into without perceiving it, Most of the ancient Legislators' meeting with no Account of the Deity, but in the

Fables of Paganism, their Contempt of these Fictions soon terminated in other Atheism. *Lycurgus*, among others, whose Sentiments on Religion are very suspicious, thought to supply it by offering to his Countrymen a particular Virtue, to which they might be so absolutely devoted, as to be ready at all Times to sacrifice themselves, and every thing else to it, as to the Patron Deity of the Nation.

Further, *Lacedemon* was in that natural State of War, so expressly condemned by all the Maxims of the Law of Nations: To such a Degree was this martial Genius fo-mented, that moral Discipline was much more relax in the Camp than in the City. It is well known what Reproaches were cast on the *Spartans* for Idleness, as if they could find no Employment out of War: They were allowed to wear Ornaments, and to curl their Hair; whereas, the excessive Se-verity in the City, occasioned secret Prac-tices of the most detestable Kind, to avoid public Chastisement. A *Spartan* being asked, whether his Countrywomen were chaste, as it was hardly to be expected from their shameless Attire, returned this short blunt Answer, according to the way of his Coun-try, that the public Virtue covered them; how-ever, the Testimonies of Antiquity are not unanimous on this Head; and, if what *Ari-stotle* says in his Politics may be credited, the Women performed no very extraordinary Feats

Feats when the *Thebans* invaded their Country.

Thus *Lacedemon* had but one Face, and that would only bear a side Look: It excelled in the austere Part, as Temperance, Seriousness, Nervosity in Speech, Forbearance from vain Pleasures, Contempt of Wealth and Patriotism; intent upon a few Virtues, they practised them with the greater Force and Uniformity: Had *Lycurgus* had *London* to model, he would have formed other Institutions than those for *Sparta*. However pernicious this Legislator held travelling to be, to the *English* he would have recommended it as useful and necessary; but to forbid his Countrymen Travelling, Conquest or Commerce, was Wisdom; his little Republic being founded by Art, would infallibly have lost its Manners by the Contagion of Intercourse: To such an Imitation of *Sparta* interdicting foreign Usages, it is that *Venice* owes its Permanency.

But, on the other Hand, an Oversight in *Lycurgus* was, that he had omitted engaging his Citizens to their Country by the Motives of Pleasure: With all his Exactness of Policy, the public Feasts which he instituted were never a sufficient Compensation for the Denial of particular Friendships and social Meetings. Community Feasts must have been but dull Entertainment to *Grecian* Vi-vacity.

The Government of a large Kingdom, I know, admits of no Comparison with that of a petty Commonwealth; only I shall observe, that the Pleasures of Society knit a *Frenchman* to his Country: a *Frenchman*, out of *France*, looks upon himself as under a kind of Exile; with him 'tis the Sum of his Felicity; the Kingdom of *France* is the Empire of Delight. The external Order at *Sparta* was indeed admirable, but once broke through, there was no setting Things to right: excepting some warm Republicans, and old Fellows fond of the Customs and Residence of their youth, I much question whether they loved their Country so much as the *Athenians* did theirs.

The Spirit of *Athens* was much more comprehensive, and had more Vivacity than *Lacedemon*; so that it seemed capable of a larger Dominion. Its Institutions might have suited a considerable State; whereas those of *Sparta* were obviously confined to a small Republic. *Lacedemon* was grand, *Athens* rational; the excellent Philosophers of the latter had opened its Eyes to the Beauty and Transcendency of Virtue; it was acquainted with, and cultivated the Law of Nations, and that Justice, which includes all People. The *Lacedemonian* Virtue was forced; the Unconcernedness, the Joy of Mothers, at the honourable Deaths of their Sons, was contrary to Nature. *Athens* felt, and was not

ashamed of a Tear. *Lacedemon* was not without Virtues; but *Athens* possessed a mild, amiable, generous Wisdom, founded on the Fitnesses of Things, and a Chain of regular Principles.

Sparta seemed to act only by Fits: Its austere Genius had framed to itself a particular Idiom fit for such a People; *Athens* adapted the Stile to the Subject; for the so much boasted Atticism was not a national or provincial Dialect, but the Elegance and Sweetness of the Greek Tongue in its Perfection. The *Lacedemonian* Stile was entirely home-spun; that of the *Athenians* diversified, always pure. *Rome*, whose Virtues though of a different Kind, had nothing constrained or extravagant in them, took its Expression from Nature. In the Writers of the fine Age, there are no national Peculiarities, all is noble Simplicity, exact Propriety, and enchanting Merit.

All the *Lacedemonian* Superstitions I omit, as they only prove that in Morality and Arts their Genius was exceedingly limited. *Lycurgus*'s Plan to me seems not unlike that of the Barbarians, neglecting other Objects for the Sake of enjoining one with more Intensity: Without any further Comparison, *Lycurgus* and the Barbarian Chiefs confined their Views to War, which naturally abounds in those Events and Performances that excite Admiration.

A stricter Examination, therefore, is to be bestowed on nothing more than those extraordinary Institutions, which please even by their Singularities; as *Lycurgus* in every Branch of his System, so have the *Lacedemonians* like the *Scythians*, and all Nations who are unpractised in Meditation, and little versed in Sciences, had in their Answers an Energy and Resoluteness, which carry an infinite Charm in them.

The next Chapter shall shew the *Grecian Education*, which is usually directed by the Institution.

C H A P. III.

Of the Education of the Greeks.

NOTHING is certainly further from my Intention than to represent the *Spartans* as Barbarians. I subscribe to the universal Respect paid by Antiquity to the particular fine Strokes which shine in that Republic. Its Legislation had so many Excelencies in it, was so firmly compact, that for six hundred Years its Spirit was kept up in all its Vigour, and not the least Breach made in the Constitution. Public Schools of Heroism were opened for the female Sex, Girls mingled with Boys both in their Labours and Sports; *Lycurgus* conceived there might be some Advantage in not separating the Sexes

by different Exercises; the Women, by their Beauty and Endearments, softening the Rigour of the *Lacedemonian* Virtues.

All that I except against in the System of *Lycurgus* is, that its Methods are too far fetched, and favour of *Turkish* Polity: What a strange Way, for Instance, was that of instilling into young Men an Abhorrence of Vice by Representations? The *Helotes*, or Slaves, were treated with the most shocking Barbarity; after being brought in drunk at Feasts, they were cruelly scourged, to create in Freemen a Contempt of a Vice in itself so brutish, and to which such an ignominious Punishment was annexed. These poor Creatures were not so much as allowed to be present at singing the *Odes* of the *Lacedemonian* Poets, lest the Entertainments of Freemen might inspirit Slaves to a hankering after Liberty. The *Athenian* Servitude, on the contrary, was light and easy; and accordingly, in *Attica* four hundred thousand Slaves were quietly governed by not above two or three and twenty thousand Freemen.

The School of *Athens* had more Purity and Ingenuousness than that of *Sparta*: it is true, the *Athenians* kept their Wives retired in the inmost Part of their Houses; so far from being Antagonists to the Men in Exercises, they were prohibited from being present at the solemn Games of *Greece*: But if the Ceremonial of the City had excluded Women from

from the Tournaments and other Exercises, the School-masters had adorned Virtue with all the Decorations of the Sciences, to kindle in Youth the more vehement Inclinations and Pursuits : Philosophy was taught amidst the Pillars of the Portico, and in the Gardens of the Lyceum. It was represented in the Action of the Theatre ; the Music of the Chorus inspired it, and it was expressed even in the Movements of the Dance. Can there be such a Creature on Earth, as not to burn with Love of Virtue and his Country, were he present at the general Assembly of *Greece*, and saw the Conquerors in the Games, and other eminent Citizens receiving Crowns amidst the applauding Acclamations of the Sages and Heroes ? The almost sole Employment of Poetry, Painting and Sculpture, was either in Honour of the Gods, or great and good Men ; they may even be said herein to have run into a Kind of Idolatry, disgracing the Honour of the Statue by rendering it too common.

Persons of Rank and Character, at the same Time, animated the young Men, in signifying to them what Hopes the Republic had from their early Displays of Courage, Virtue and Capacity ; a Friendship, on which many injurious Mistakes have been grounded ; although *Socrates*, who was very assiduous in selecting and forming Youths for the State, escaped all Censure of this Nature

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from his Accusers. *Philip* seeing three hundred of these *Amorosos* lying dead at the Battle of *Cheronea*, on the very Spot where they had dearly sold their Lives, execrated all who could suspect such Men of having either committed or suffered such Abominations. In fine, Tyrants gave a solemn Justification of Philosophy, in their Endeavours to suppress this Love, as the strongest Barrier against their Usurpations.

The Lover taught the Youth Music and the fine Arts, and instructed him in the Principles of moral Beauty; and what is still more, Prostitutes were tolerated in *Athens*. As the Business of these Women was to please, in Conformity to the *Attic Genius*, they cultivated their natural Talents, and were often of a distinguished Skill or Taste in the fine Arts. *Pericles's Aspasia*, and *Epicurus's Leontium*, are particularly known among a thousand others: the Love of Liberty and Science thus changing those pestilent Houses into Seminaries of Patriotism and Literature: A nicer Art is required in the Laws of a small Republic, which always renders them more singular and striking.

If we hesitate in giving credit to the Accounts of these Usages, on account of their Opposition to ours, what shall we think of the *Grecian Dancing*, which in those Times was one of the serious Occupations of respectable Citizens? *Socrates* himself had

a very good Air in dancing; for there were moral and military Dances. The Romans, a Nation of more Gravity than the Greeks, made no such Use of dancing, and trained up their Youth to Morality, without any such seductive Expedients, which to the too impressionable Greeks could not do without. Polity, as yet, was not brought to a Consistency, and they were only petty Grecian Republics.

For, to speak my Thoughts, this Use of Dancing, to me seems to favour a little of the Weakness and Novelty of Morality, and of the World's Nonage. The Methods of Antiquity have been exploded by Alterations of Circumstances: Those Practices are now laid aside, the Experience of so many Ages having at length fixed our Views. The Force of Custom, and the Evidence to which modern Morality has been carried, justify our Conformity: On the contrary, *Socrates* and *Plato* talk as if they had brought the first Principles of that Science from Heaven; they seem as it were the first who gave it Birth: Their Colloquies on Probity, Decorum, and Utility, are full of such prolix Questions and Ambages of Words, more fit for Boys than Reasoners. The Greeks, as to the World's Age, are Novices, sparkling indeed with the vivid Fire of Youth; but we, in fact, are the solid Adepts.

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Accordingly, the antient Education busied itself more about the Body than the Mind: All those solemn Games, the several athletic Combats, the Races, the Honours bestowed on the Victors, manifest the Preference which the Antients gave to a Perfection in bodily Exercises, doubtless to the very great Prejudice of the more ennobling Sciences: Their Time considered, they were in the right; for in their Wars 'twas Strength which carried the Day; but with us, by the whole System of War being changed, and the Abundance of military Inventions, Knowledge is the greatest Means of Success; Skill has overcome bodily Strength.

Thus, in a manner, there was scarce any Possibility that they could have the same Leisure or Relish for the speculative Sciences as the Moderns: This is a Reflection, which I wonder above all Things, that it has not occurred in the famous Contentions about the Antients and Moderns. The Pomp of the solemn Games, the long Application requisite to Perfection in the Exercises, the State Affairs to which every Citizen was called, engrossed all their Time from Study. The Improvements of the Body are always acquired more or less at the Expence of the Mind: The Philosophers were the only Thinkers among them; so that the Inferiority of the Antients, and their Unskilfulness in Analysis, are not much to be wondered at,
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and as little to be censured: they generally knew less than we, and were not so well qualified for Speculation; but what they learned was by such long and agreeable Practice, that it remained fixed in the Mind; and 'tis of them, above all others, that it might be said, that what they knew, they knew thoroughly.

The Succession of Nations leads us to the *Romans*; and here the Reader will certainly meet with Entertainment, in the Contrast betwixt the *Roman Simplicity*, and *Grecian Contrivance*; a great Counterpoise against a very complexed Machine.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Roman Institutions.

IF the first *Romans* applied themselves to Agriculture, it was not purely from any exalted Sentiments, it was rather from their Penury, that they could not subsist but by Labour: All the Soldiers were Plowmen; and the illustrious Families ever after distinguished themselves by Surnames, taken from that Kind of Pulse, by the Cultivation of which their Founders had begun their Fortunes, and of which they were particularly fond; as the *Lentuli*, the *Fabii*, and the *Pifones*; alluding to Lentiles, Beans and Pease. Thus it was, that this manner of living among the

the first *Romans* stamped upon Agriculture the Mark of an original Virtue, kept up its Credit amidst the warlike Occupations, from which, during the Continuance of the Republic they had no respite, and afterwards amidst the Excesses, to which Luxury was carried under the Emperors.

Without this Circumstance, it may well be thought, in what repute the quiet Virtues of a rural Oeconomy would have been amongst a martial People, or how they, accustomed to Violence and Ravages, they whose Valour had over-run the World, could bring themselves to so laborious and apparently abject an Employment as Agriculture. It is true, the northern Barbarians lived whole Ages in Poverty; but the Sterility of the Climate being an utter Discouragement to Labour, put them upon mending their Condition, by seating themselves in the *Roman* Provinces, which they plundered. This gave Rise to the fantastic Fondness for Gold and Silver Ornaments, unknown among the Antients, but which has travelled down to us, and increased in its Journey; the Source of it, doubtless was in the Soldiers Pride, which imagined some Honour in wearing Spoils taken in the Heat and Fury of War: These ferocious People were unacquainted with the Tranquility of rural Industry, though their Sports were much more laborious than any Husbandry.

Rome

Rome was born in Religion and War ; to this fundamental Genius the Form of the Government annexed Eloquence, which with the Games and Religion were the three Hinges on which this People turned. The Youth cultivated Eloquence with an incredible Passion ; but Philosophy excited no such Ardours. Under the Republic it was totally in the Hands of the *Greeks*, and these were several Times expelled *Rome* as so many quibbling Sophisters. The sole Employment of *Cato* the Elder's Life at *Rome*, was to arraign the Magistrates before the People, and to declaim against the *Greeks*, who he said spoke with their Lips, and the *Romans* with their Hearts. The *Roman* Genius, though grave and plodding, did not soon close with Philosophy, no more than that of *France*, accounting that it indisposed the Mind for Business, and diverted from the more necessary Functions of Politics. Even under those Emperors who were most indulgent to it, and permitted Professors of it, they were *Greeks*, though indeed many of their Disciples were Persons of Quality, or of distinguished Merit. After the *Romans* gave into Philosophy, their philosophical Compositions were very few ; and the *Greeks*, though Preceptors to the *Roman* Youth, too often prostituted themselves as flattering hangers-on to their great Men. Nothing was wanting to the Sciences

Sciences in this Republic, but to have been favoured by its Institution.

As to the Spirit of Religion it always kept Footing in *Rome*; *Egypt* excepted, never was Superstition carried further; for the Profligacy of Morals, which grew to an enormous Height in the imperial Government, only varied the Superstition, and rendered it more dangerous by the Admission of foreign Deities.

Their Institutions were in general serious, as was their Education: *Numa*, their second King, was a Philosopher, a Religionist, and a High Priest. Wisdom and Religion had been introduced among the *Greeks*, decked with the Flowers of Poetry, and veiled with agreeable Fictions. The *Romans*, to whom Philosophers were a long Time unknown, living not only in Ignorance, but in an Opposition to Arts and Sciences, had given themselves up to War and Politics, as to the two national Excellencies. Husbandry and rural Occupations were held in Esteem amidst immense Riches, and a Luxury beyond them. Eloquence never ceased to be cultivated. The *Romans* never lost Sight of the great Views of Government; they even never departed from their Gravity; and all this in Ages flaming with Depravity, which always kept Pace with the Conquests of that renowned City. The Ground of the Genius, and universal Opinions established by Institutions,

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and authorised by antient and respectable Examples, such as a Love of Agriculture, were never eradicated among the *Romans*, and are as deep rooted in other Nations. If I prove that the *Roman Genius* maintained itself even under the Empire, this Principle once secured, it affords a rational Conjecture of the like Permanency in other Nations. It is plain that here Diversions, Tastes and Fashions are out of the Question, as they vary in all Governments.

C H A P. V.

That the Ground of the Roman Genius was not changed.

IT is a demonstrable Point that the *Roman Genius* ran through the whole Duration of that State, I mean from its Origin to that convulsed Age which preceded its Dissolution; that is, to the Reign of *Arcadius*.

I readily own that in the Capital, by the frequent Revolutions, the chief Order of the State was kept low; but that *Roman Wisdom* which was trodden under Foot in the Capital, seemed to rear its Head again in the Provinces. I see the most sanguinary Emperors erecting Monuments of a stupendous Magnificence: The Highways, the Bridges, the Camps, the military Buildings often carried on only by the Authority of the Gove-

nors,

nors, and Polity established in the *Gauls*: In fine, all these Marks of the *Roman* Taste were never discontinued, but continued for the Space of near four hundred Years under the Empire.

No sooner was a Prince firmly settled, than the Senate, an Assembly ever illustrious till the Time of the Barbarians, sat down again to the Care of Affairs; after all Interruptions the *Roman* Genius held on its Course, and re-assumed its great Views in public Establishments, of which in every Reign, even those of the worthless Princes, there are several Instances. The new Families, in order to fix their tottering Throne, endeavoured to recommend themselves by salutary Ordinances; even the Proconsuls seldom left a Province without some endearing Monument of their Administration; their Authority being like that of a Viceroy, and over vast Dominions. The Magnificence of Religion in the Worship of the Dead, which was a Consequence of the *Pagan* System concerning the Mansion of departed Spirits, the frequent Spectacles, the Triumphs of Conquerors, the Pride of the *Roman* Name of as long standing as the Republic, the Astonishment which the *Romans* were for impressing on the Barbarians, even under the distracted Reign of *Heraclius*: All these Circumstances, which so greatly enhanced the public Splendor and

Decoration, were still buoyant under all the Storms which shattered the Government.

Neither did the *Romans* relinquish their Relish for Study amidst the Adulterations of Literature. The Emperors continued to be present in the Senate, and to speak in public, as is evident from the Medals struck in the later Ages with this Exergue, *Adlocutio Imperatoria, Adlocutio Congiaria*. *Domitian*, and several others wrote Tragedies in their Youth: *Adrian* cultivated History and Poetry on the Model of *Varro*, who was both a gallant General and a correct Writer. *Augustus, Tiberius*, and young Gentlemen of the best Families, pleaded during the whole Continuance of the Empire: The Reputation of Agriculture and Husbandry never sunk, being held on a Level with the liberal Studies. The Magistrates, the very Consuls, were not above busying themselves in the Management of those large Farms, which among the *Romans* were called *Villas*. Whatever had been reputable in the Adolescency of the Republic, lost nothing of its Dignity under the Empire: In the Decline of Taste, Meetings were held in the Capital, to read and discent on the Writings of the Poets and Orators.

Even at the Banquets and Entertainments in the Palace, the *Romans* often turned their Thoughts towards the *Grecian* Philosophers, whose Pictures they were fond of having in their

their Galleries. They frequently invited them to their Tables, to discuss Points of Morality; very different from the Table-talk and fashionable Pieces of the *French*; something of the early Times of the Commonwealth, on the Republican Administration, and the Excellence of antient Usages, never failed to be brought on the Carpet, *Trimulcio* in *Petronius* orders an Inscription on his Tomb, that he had not been a Hearer of the Philosophers; the Folly, if it must be called so, had got to such a Head, that no House of any Distinction could be without one of these Morality-teachers. The Freedom of *Juvenal* and others in their undisguised Parallels of the Antients, with the great Men of their Times, was not animadverted upon; that keen Writer was only banished in his eightieth Year for lashing *Crispin*, and after sixty Years of full Licentiousness indulged to his Pen. It was a Point with the *Romans* always to distinguish themselves by Gravity, a Skill in Politics, and a Decency of Manners; though on many Occasions the Practice of Virtue seemed to be in a very declining State: But, no sooner had they weathered the Storm, than their natural Temper gained the Ascendant. It would give a genuine *Frenchman* the Spleen, to hear the pompous Praises of that Gravity with which even the most vicious of the most abandoned Times were so excessively

taken: To illustrate this, I compare the Genius of a degenerating People to Servility, which amidst all its Infirmitie still retains the same Inclinations.

The Cruelties under the Empire do not invalidate my Principle. The *Roman* Temper never totally threw off its Moderation; it is but a Piece of Justice to disculpate it from the Charge of Cruelty, by the Exigencies of the Times. The Armies were continually setting up new Emperors; the Senate's Authority was trampled under Foot, the Barbarians committed frequent Depredations, and the Soldiers quartered in *Rome* were become used to Donations. It is by violent Measures that a large Empire must usually maintain itself; besides these disfavourable Circumstances, there were the Gladiatorian Shews which fomented Ferocity, the Condition of a People continually at War, not with foreign and policed Nations, but among themselves, or with Barbarians, both which warrant unusual Cruelties: It may be affirmed that any other People but the *Romans*, would under such Circumstances have become excessively sanguinary, and the Government have introduced the whole *Turkish* System. The Princes, Ministers, and the Court were corrupted to the last Degree; but the Nation still is discernible; and the Historians of those profligate Ages differ widely

widely from the Poets and Orators, with whom Exaggeration is only Ornament.

Thus the *Romans* were corrupted, and Virtue, it is true, seemed under a total Eclipse; but still the Spirit of the Nation in general leaned towards Manners, which recovered themselves with surprising Speed and Facility. Under *Trajan* there was no Vestige of *Roman* Depravity to be seen, though under the preceding Tyrants it had swelled beyond all Bounds. The same happy Turn was seen under *Dioclesian*, *Theodosius*, *Constantine*, *Constantius* and others; the Revolutions in the *Roman* Minds indeed had been so sudden, Impiety and Adulation had been carried to such a monstrous Excess, that it was very visible they were little more than the Effects of Fear and Violence.

After all, it must be granted, that not a few Persons in *Rome* ran into such Singularities of Luxury, as could not escape the Attention of Historians and Poets; but the Disorders arising from the Licentiousness of the Shews and Gladiators, were common only among Persons of Quality; out of *Rome*, out of the Way of Shews, or where the Celebration of Mysteries was unknown, there was nothing of these Town-revels; And this does great Honour to the Wisdom of the *Roman* Government, that onerous and many as the Impositions were, none of the conquered Nations, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Asia*,

not even the *Greeks* and *Carthage*, ever revolted.; St. *Austin* saying, that in that City the Conquerors were not to be distinguished from the Conquered, who equally assisted at the Sacrifices, shared in the Privileges, and even public Dignities: All Nations having been admitted to the Denizenship so early as in the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*.

Another Instance of the *Roman* Gravity, is their separating the Exercise of Hunting from that of War, though there be such a Similiarity and Correspondence betwixt them; our Progenitors addicted themselves to both with equal Eagerness; but the *Romans* were no Sportsmen, as possibly the Agitation, Impetuosity, Disquietude, and Hurry of Field-sports, might appear to them unbecoming a manly Composedness. Their Generosity in public Affairs lifted them above Traffick; but being thrifty Managers, and not a little severe in City Concerns, they made themselves amends by private Acquisitions, and the exorbitant Usury of banking. *Polybius* had remarked, that the *Romans* did not easily part with their Cash; and that the Generosity of the younger *Scipio* in remitting Part of his Lady's Portion, was accounted extraordinary even to a Prodigy.

The Course of these Reflections will exhibit the *Roman* Genius in its various Manifestations. Free in the Republican Ages of a vast Extent at the Epocha of the triumviratical

radical Revolutions; under *Tiberius* shackled, but under *Galba* enervated; recovering itself under the philosophical Emperors; ever serious and giving itself up to Pleasure with an Excess of which Historians have transmitted such vivid Descriptions, and which indicates a melancholy Temperament; whereas Joy seemed to flow as a natural Emanation from the *Grecian* Hilarity. Sometimes this Genius, as in Appearance so withdrawn, as not to be discovered without some Indagation; yet in the Time of its Obscurity it is found among a considerable Number of Senators, who detested Tyranny, among a Multitude of ingenuous People dispersed in *Italy* and the Provinces, where they settled themselves under the Reigns of the Tyrants, and among the exquisite Artists employed by the Emperors: It also subsists among generous Warriors, among the antient Families of the Inhabitants of *Rome*; and lastly, in the municipal Towns and *Roman* Colonies; for, by this Method the Manners and Genius extended themselves with the Dominion.

Here an Objection must be answered; the Stile, which is one of the least equivocal Signs of the Genius of a Nation, as expressing its reflexive Way of Thinking, altered about the Time of *Pliny* and *Quintilian*; and this was not a transient Corruption like that of the Government and Manners. The new Taste stood its Ground to the utter Extinction of

of the Elegancy of the fine Ages. By what Clew can we here trace that Ground of the *Latin Genius*, which, according to you, maintained itself till the final Overthrow of the Empire?

This Difficulty is removed by contrasting to the Stile adopted by the Writers of those Times, all the other remaining Monuments of the *Roman Taste*, erected in the Ages against which the Charge is levelled. It was just in this *Æra*, when Painting, Sculpture and Architecture were gaining the Summit of Perfection. Politics and State Oeconomy were ever the same: Respect among Foreigners was carefully maintained. The Civil Law was held in great Repute. That Gravity and Decorum which were the Ground of the *Roman Genius*, were never totally lost: This Contrast, I say, of repeated and permanent Marks with the vitiated Stile of innovating Writers, determines the Nation's real Genius, from which some Writers departed, and were unhappily followed by Posterity.

On the contrary, among the Orientals all is uniform, Eloquence, Poetry, Religion, Philosophy, Manners, Arts and Government.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Institutions of the antient European Nations.

THEIR Oracles could not save the *Romans* from the general Fate of human Things. Those haughty Conquerors were at length destroyed; and the Empire, the most glorious of all that Nation's Works, overturned, dissolved, and utterly annihilated. A Swarm of irresistible Heroes issued from the North, and to this Day it is their Descendants who fill the Thrones of *Europe*. Our Ancestors were born in a State of War co-eval with the World; this is a Circumstance common to all the northern Nations whom the Antients indiscriminately called *Scythians*. *Minos*, *Solon*, and even *Romulus*, did not subdue their Country by Force of Arms, and accordingly the Constitution thereof was not military.

But this fundamental Spirit was blended with very different Qualities in the several Nations of *Europe*. The antient Nobility of the North, who dwelling in barren Countries, understood nothing but War and Hunting, exalted this latter Diversion, known late and always despised among the *Romans*, to be the most worthy Occupation of Monarchs. The Cast of the first *French* was entirely to the military Virtues: Activity of Body

Body and the Use of Weapons made all their Education; Schools and Literature they left in the Hands of the *Romans* and *Gauls*, as more suitable to the pusillanimous Vanquished than the fierce Conqueror.

Thus the fixed Bent of the Nobility was for Arms; yet does not History afford any thing like the judicial Duel, which was practised for several Ages as a Decision of Contests: All the Distinctions granted in after-times to the Profession of the Law, have not degraded, have not brought into Competition that Pre-eminence which took Place at the Origin of the *French*. The principal Honours of the Magistracy, though held by a Family for Ages, did not raise it to the Rank of the higher Noblesse. The two Orders of the Kingdom are viewed through a false Medium, and the Foundation of these wide Disproportions is, after all, no more than an invincible Prejudice left on the Mind by the original Institutions.

For to these military Impulses it is still owing that the Professions of the fine Arts is under Depression in a Kingdom fitted to be the Centre of them; and even here, the old Prejudice has done Violence to the Genius of the Nation, naturally fond of, and most happily capable of all Arts and Sciences; yet with this Love and Aptitude, the Artist and Man of Letters will never hold but a very subordinate Rank in *France*; the Nation having

having, as it were in its Cradle, been taken with the Love of Arms, and rose to Manhood by an Exertion of the military Qualities. Thus Glory became annexed to the Nobleman, whilst Respect or Consideration is the Magistrate's Portion.

The Ladies completed the Superiority of the Warriors. A Notion of *African* Extraction had got Footing in *Spain*, that Women being the Ornament of the World, were to be adored. The School of regulated Gallantry, which among the *Arabs* and *Moors* was connected with the original Institution, found a ready Reception among the *Spaniards*, who even improved its Forms and Ceremonies, and communicated them to all *Europe*. The Fidelity of a Knight grew into Celebrity. Every Knight offered it together with his Arms to his particular Fair-one; so that Gallantry quickly became the most creditable Virtue of the Age. In all our ancient Histories, and even fabulous Traditions, which are very full of it, this System thus compounded of War and Love, is represented as peculiar to the northern Nations.

This is the Ground of the *European* Institutions; but by Circumstances and the different Tempers of Nations, many Alterations have fallen out in such a long Course of Time. War has continued to be the principal Occupation of the North; the Government of *Germany* has turned the Mind to the

Study of Civil Law, and Respect for the Nobility, which has no where admitted of so little Adulteration; for in *France* the vast Fortunes raised in the Finances have induced the Nobility to match with plebeian Families.

Devotedness to the Sovereign is, in this Kingdom, as antient as the Nation itself, or at least as the Accession of the present august Family to the Throne: The social Disposition of the *French*, together with their open Carriage towards Women, are the first Effects which appeared in our Manners upon reforming from Barbarism; Faults of as long a standing, and exclaimed against at their first Appearance, are our Fickleness and Imbezzlement of the public Money, a Wound which in *France* there is no Likelihood of a Cure.

A Change of Manners and Laws in *Holland* would endanger the Republic; its Preservation absolutely depends on that Frugality, Union, and other Virtues to which it owes its Commencement. *Poland* still retains the antient Laws of the northern People, but with all their Faults too; the *Turks* have also very punctually kept to their primordial Institutions.

Italy, with one Eye contemplating the Monuments of Valour, and casting the other on the Allurements of the Church, constituted its Character of this singular Medley.

Greece

Greece being a second Time conquered, carried also a second Time its Arts into *Latium*, after the taking of *Constantinople*. From the Monuments of the *Romans* *Italy* derived a Reputation of Grandeur and Superiority in the fine Arts, whilst ecclesiastical Government enervated Courage. The *Roman* Court is still the same. In this priestly Court the Sovereign, the Council, and Courtiers are of a Calling, and of an Age little adapted to Innovations, in which Youth is generally the Actor, and Wars and Women the Instruments.

Venice, situated in a more severe Climate, and under a Necessity of fighting with its *Ottoman* Neighbours, happily associated Study and War; so that its Manners were a Transcript both of *Athens* and *Sparta*; and these Institutions are still in full Force and Effect: The Secrecy and Modesty, Equality, private and public Policy, Closeness in Affairs and Pleasures of *Lacedemon*, constitute the *Venetian* Character.

The other Provinces of *Italy*, allured to Ease by the Sweetness of Music and the Enrichments of the fine Arts, seemed to have fallen into a profound Sleep in the Pillow of Religion.

A longer Detail of the particular Institutions would require a separate Work, and shall be elsewhere hinted at, and even set in a clear Light in the Course of these Reflections.

tions. As to the Duration of modern Institutions, it remains only to make an Analysis of what has been read on the *Romans*; at least Pyrrhonism must be removed from general History, and the Foundations of this Work secured.

C H A P. VII.

That the Ground of modern Nations has maintained itself.

THE Barbarians have preserved their Laws with no less Exactness, or at least the Spirit of their first Laws. These Principles or Elements consisted in the Tenures of Fiefs, the bearing of Arms, Titles very different from the Oriental, Freedom of Usages, Society even with the Sovereign, the Pre-eminence of the Sword above the Gown, Prejudice against Trades, national Assemblies unknown to the *Orientals*, Remonstrances to the Sovereign, made of Language and Stile, Duels, the Nature of capital and infamatory Punishments, easy Impetration of Pardon; hereditary Nobility, Inconstancy in Customs, the active Life, Discountenance of Fables, free Conversation with Women, and more especially among the *French*, the Love of Glory, that Honour, the Nation's invaluable Treasure, which alone the King cannot command.

Thus all the Severity of repeated Edicts against duelling, has only put the Point of Honour upon Artifice, and disguising a Design

Sign under a Rencounter ; the Point of Honour is rivetted in a *French Heart* : Things may be varnished, softer Names may be used ; but still the Troops are actuated by the same Spirit, which may be concealed, but cannot be suppressed. As the last Proof, have not the Rights and Privileges of the Nobility been abridged by several Kings, whilst Precedency and Rank still continue ? and to these, *French Ambition* ever has an Eye. In *France* the greatest Opulency is defective without a Title ; and did not the Prince keep them in Equipoise, by the respectable Companies to whom he delegates his Authority, the Nobility would over-turn the Scales of the State.

It is not always that the true Genius of a Nation is laid open, it being sometimes hidden and inactive ; *Ignis suppositus cineri doloso*. For Instance, how wide would a Foreigner be of the Temper of our Nation ? What would be his Idea of our Attachment to our Monarchs, were he to look for them in the Intervals of Combustions, in the Cabals and Violences of the League, and in the Conspiracies of many Priests and Doctors deceiving and deceived ? the moral System has its Eclipses like the physical. It appears that a Nation starts from its fundamental Maxims, but only whilst in these tempestuous Times ; trace the antient and public Sources, above one half of the Kingdom still held

with the King, and at *Paris* the most creditable Persons had Life and Fortune at his Service. Observe the Conflicts through which the Leaguers pursued their Measures ; wavering, timid, contradictory, and all the Restlessness and Rage of this League, within six Years subsided into a profound Calm. The Revolt of the League, which drew in a very illustrious Part of the Nation, was not the less opposite to its Genius. Contrarily, the formal Parricide committed on the Person of *Charles I.* though the Work of a mutilated House of Commons, and disowned by the Lords, was entirely consonant to the *English Genius*, and of a Piece with many other Parts of the History of that factious Nation. In general, the Rule is, that the Genius shews itself again in the Majority, according to the Law of all Societies, and that there be a Concurrence of all the Signs on which are grounded the public Law of Nations, and which are included in the tacit Acceptation.

Therefore investigating the Nations Temper, always take a very considerable and successive Retrospect, and form not your Conclusions from happy Epochas or later Ages. All the passionate Admirers of *Greece*, who drew their Ideas of its Tranquility, and Disinterestedness from the golden Age of Morality in that Nation, have not been able to account for the Intrigues, the Movements

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and Ambition of the *Greeks* in other Ages ; I say the *golden Age of Morality* ; because in reading the Encomiasts of the Moderns and the Antients, it is observable that their Estimate of a Nation is from the Age of Writers. An Age of Virtue is sometimes no more than a Time of Fermentation of some adventitious Motion, from which the natural Frame is by no means to be inferred : It is often made up only of extraordinary Circumstances of acquired Virtues, which, with the Cessation of the favourable Causes, immediately disappear. All the manly Institutions of *Cyrus*, though enforced by Rewards and Punishments, could not withhold the *Persian* Genius from sinking again into its natural Weakness, which it never shook off.

Let the philosophic Reader immovably keep to this well digested Principle, that the Ground of the Genius, I have never said Virtue, undergoes no Alteration : It is the Key of Characters ; it unravels all the Contradictions of History ; it is an Inlet into the Dispositions of Ages, and recurs to the supreme Cause of all Events.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Education among the different Nations of Europe, and more particularly the French.

THE School of Virtues is quite another Thing among us than with the Antients; and it has been incontrovertibly made out in the foregoing Chapters. The Education of the *Greeks* was in the Hands of Philosophers, who had travelled in the Acquisitions of Sciences; besides, the Purity of Religion has obliged us to correct the Methods of Antiquity, and to give an Air of Austerity to the Sciences, by making Recluses of Children, and putting them under a strict Discipline for the Conduct of their Education; whereas among the *Greeks*, Boys were brought up in public, and under the Inspection of the Magistracy.

It must however be owned, that the modern Genius has been always wanting in a due Attention to Sensations, introducing Dryness and Uniformity into the Methods of Education, which the ingenious Antients had diversified with so many agreeable and inspiriting Contrivances.

We are remiss in Education, having more Right than the Antients to depend on the Establishment of Morality; but after all, never has the modern Genius been seen to rightly unite in one Point of View the Improve-

provement of the Body and Mind. Before the Revival of Literature in the Times of Barbarism, all that the Fathers minded, was to form the Body for Strength and Agility by Exercises; and since Colleges were founded, the Mind runs away with all the Parent's Care.

It is true that our Education receives Beauty, as our Minds do Improvements, from Commerce with the Ladies, which begins too soon in *France* and too late in *England*; but still, this is not an Equivalent: This Commerce may, and does refine Decorums, and is the best Nursery of those Qualities which constitute a Man of the World; but not in the least, of a Taste for Arts or of an Aptitude for useful or serious Employments.

So that in many philosophical Articles, modern Education falls far short of that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, equally inured to Labours and experimented in Business. If a *German* Nobleman happens to take a Liking to the Civil Law, or which is more extraordinary, if an *Italian* or *French* Lord get a smattering of the Sciences at the Colleges, the most serious Care is taken to limit their Proficiency; Excellency is represented to them as quite out of Character. A Nobleman, especially in *France*, for writing only superficial Memoirs of his Life, or Negotiations, or some short and gay Reflections, shall hardly escape the Charge of transgressing what is called the *Decorums of Ignorance*:

norance : As to *England*, this Censure admits of Abatement.

The antient Republics, and in our Time *England*, and even *Holland*, have set before Youth, without any Distinction of Rank and Family, honourable and lucrative Occupations at the Bar, in the Senate, in the Navy, and in the Colonies ; Views which *Plebeians* have not in *France*. The System of Nobility turns almost entirely upon War, and its Privileges are besides an unsurmoutable Impediment to an Uniformity of Education, especially among the *Germans* and *Poles*, the latter keeping up the Polity of Fiefs in all its Rigour.

If the modern Education be inferior to that of the Antients in Philosophy, infinitely more is it in that Discipline called *Gymnastics*, which is conversant about the Strength and Perfection of the Body. The *Grecian* People, aggregated into Republicks, instituted solemn Meetings and Games, to consecrate their Traditions ; all the bodily Exercises they reduced to Art and Method, whereas before they depended on a Slight or Trick of the Assailants : If Carousels and Tournaments were in Use among the principal Nations of *Europe*, these were only Meetings of the Nobility, not of the Nation, and consequently not to be compared to the *Grecian* Games, to which they were trained from their Childhood by a suitable Education.

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The *Olympic* Games included all the bodily Exercises in their utmost Perfection, and were the best of military Schools ; whereas, with all these Jousts and Tournaments, our Noblesse did not improve a whit in Discipline.

Among the Moderns, the *French* Education is famous throughout all *Europe*, of which there cannot be a better Proof than the Confluence of young Foreigners sent to imbibe our Elements ; all Nations do this Justice to *France*, that to it is owing whatever Gracefulness of Deportment, Courteousness of Disposition, and Agreeableness of Commerce is found in *Europe* : A Tour to *France* is almost necessary to the *Germans*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Northern Gentry*. *French* Vivacity and foreign Gravity make a most happy Mixture in Manners ; it spreads over their serious Studies and Tempers a valuable Varnish, which was absolutely wanting to it ; and after all the carpings of some cynical *Lacedemonians*, who are blindly prejudiced against the Graces of modern *Athens*, an Intercourse with *France* cannot naturally be dangerous to a Foreigner.

But the Question is, whether this Education be equally advantageous to *France*, the Land of its Origine ; especially as Persons of Distinction in this Kingdom travel very little, and their Vivacity does not easily impregnate with the foreign Phlegm ? This is one of the two Heads on which our Neigh-

bours arraign us; our Fickleness and Government are all that they have any thing to say against. Let us begin with the Advantages of this Education, which shall be exhibited on a Portrait of the Man of Merit in *France*, whom all Foreigners acknowledge to be the Pattern of an amiable Virtue; if this possibly might not satisfy *Plato*, who was for seeing Virtue inwardly and in its own Figure, at least he might break out into *this Epiphonema*; *O Virtue, what Raptures dost thou excite when thou art pleased to shew thyself to us in thine Ornaments!*

C H A P. IX.

Of the Advantages of the French Education, and of Urbanity.

THE Athenian Ambassador, at an Audience of the Senate of *Sparta*, had the Confidence to expatiate on the superior Excellencies of his City, before its haughty Rival, and to appeal even to the Judgment of *Greece*; "Our City, said he, is the School " of *Greece*: The City of *Athens* is open to " the whole World. Our Games and our " Sacrifices continue throughout the Year. " We rely rather on Valour than on Wiles " and Stratagems: Our Youths are not hard- " ened by Exercises above their Strength; " our Politeness is without Luxury, our Phi- " losophy without Idleness; our Judgments " on

“ on Events are sagacious, and our Speeches
 “ on Affairs apposite : Acquainted with
 “ Pleasures, we face Dangers. An *Athenian*
 “ is capable of every Kind of Discipline,
 “ and has both Inclination and Aptitude
 “ for doing every thing accurately and grace-
 “ fully.”

Whether I may presume to lay before the *European* Nations this Picture of *Athens* and *France*, I know not; but the warmest Admirers of Antiquity have often compared them together. Would one not think this *Athenian* Minister had writ in *Paris*?

The *French* have not only been the Originals from whom all *Europe* have copied the social Qualities, but to such a Perfection have they carried them, that *France* has afforded Personages capable of conjoining the Manners and Talents of different Offices, beyond what was ever seen among the *Romans* and *Athenians*. A *Roman* was both a Senator and a General, Functions separated with us; but the *Frenchman* of Merit, in his Office of a Statesman, will sink the Austerity of that Profession, if it may be so called, in the Airiness and Freedom of a Soldier. This is an Instance of Urbanity, which we now shall explain.

Exquisite is the Fruit produced by a right Temperature of the different Qualities, and Mixture of the World and Philosophy, Business and Pleasure, Dignity and Politeness :

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The Romans termed it *Urbanitas*, the Greeks *Atticism*, and the French, with whom it is in its Perfection, have not yet hit upon any very proper Word for it. This was one of the finest Effects of the *Roman Genius*; and it first appeared in the first *Scipio*, and flourished above three hundred Years.

An Attention to what *Cicero* and *Quintilian* have left us concerning the *Roman Urbanity*, informs us, that it consisted in a certain Modulation of the Voice, in a delicate and decent Raillery, a composed Carriage, and especially in a secret Tincture of Erudition and Philosophy, which yet transpired in Colloquy. *Horace* says that a well-bred Man should mask his Strength, and artfully affect Weakness in a Dispute, rather than excite the Rancour of his Antagonist.

The Ground of Urbanity lies in the Manners, yet does not imply any solid Character of Probity and Cordiality, but a versatile Facility of Genius readily accommodating it self to the Temper of others, and assuming the Appearances of Virtue: Hence follows a natural Inclination to oblige, when our Interest is unaffected; also a Mildness which guards against all Extremes in the Diversity of Tastes and Sentiments.

The Form of Urbanity is no more than a punctual Observance of the established Decorums, which give that graceful Exterior, that Conformity betwixt the Carriage and the

the Manners, and Agreement of the Import of the Words with the Sound of the Voice; in fine, all these secret inexplicable Ingredients, which form the well-bred Man, or Man of the World. The Idea of Urbanity amongst the *Romans* and other Nations, appears to me explicitly contained in these Reflections.

To begin with the latter, and the *Greeks*; the Mixture of Profession to me appears to have opened many Ways for the easy Attainment of this ornamental Quality; for thus, a Man adapting himself alike to each of these Professions, is preserved from taking any decisive Bent, or any strongly marked Form of Deportment. The denotative Mien, the professional Physiognomy, which formerly distinguished the Gownsman, and still does the *Venetian* Nobles since they have left off War, are not the Emanations of a divided Mind.

Of such an Alliance of the senatorial Stateliness with the soldierly Vivacity, the Result was, according to *Cicero*, an easy Dignity and a respectable Airiness, which they who had never been out of the City could never come up to; for it is a most unjust Prejudice in several Writers to their own Times, to suppose that the *Romans* were never possessed of it in any Perfection. The *Romans*, it is true, were always serious; but it would be strangely mistaking the Graces;

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the Graces are neither wanton nor sportive ; they are like a flower'd Stuff with a grave Ground : 'Tis Reason, adorned and inspirited. The Graces are neither remiss nor voluptuous. *Plato* was for having Philosophers sacrifice, particularly to the Graces ; this he often press'd upon *Xenocrates*.

C H A P. X.

Of *Urbanity and Politeness among other Nations.*

IF *Roman* *Urbanity* owed its most slighty *Ornaments* to that secret *Tincture* *Erudition*, the *Frenchman* may with more Justice be suspected to have exceeded the *Limits* of that *Virtue*, than not to have reached it. Though the *Frenchman* be not averse to the *Sciences*, yet will he never value himself upon them, nor ingraft them into his *Character* with that *Punctuality* as the *Gentleman's Qualities* and *Accomplishments*, *Women* further contributing to soften the natural *Ferocity*, and attemper it to *Reason* ; and as, to please them, all *Philosophy* and *Science* must be concealed as insupportable to their volatile *Temper* ; it appears from these Reasons, that in *French Gallantry* or *Politeness*, that secret *Tincture*, which *Quintilian* requires in *Urbanity*, must be eminently predominant.

'Tis then in this *Versatility*, suiting itself to different *Engagements* and various *Occurrences*,

rences, and easily adopting the several Modes of thinking and writing, that lies the Ground of the *French Genius* averse to all Extremes. *Barclay*, a *Scotchman*, in his *Portrait of Geniusses*, even in those Times could observe the natural Gracefulness of the *French* in all Dresses and Ornaments, whether Fashions of their own, or borrowed from other Nations. In all the Accounts of foreign Countries, one ever meets with some particular Taste or Humour, which the Nation prefers to every Thing else that can be offered to it: Whereas in the *French Manners*, if duly viewed, there is not a single Article incompatible with those of Foreigners.

In *France* are concentrated all the several Pleasures which are separated in all other Countries of *Europe*; the *German Delights* of the Table, the *Italian Shews*, the northern Huntings, the *Levantine Voluptuousness*, even the *English Philosophy*; and, what crowns all these Pleasures, an exquisite Sociableness: We have diminished the Excesses of the *German Table*, corrected the extravagant Use of the *English Philosophy*, guarded against the Phrenzy of the *Italians* for Music, and that of the *Spaniards* for Women.

C H A P. XI.

Sequel of the same.

FROM these Principles it will naturally be asked, whether this Virtue which we call *Urbanity* belongs to the *Italian*. From his well known Pliantness, Subtilty and admirable Talent for Imitation, it is, with not a few, beyond all Question: But how obvious and many are the Differences! *Urbanity* consists in a modest Dignity of Carriage, and a noble Simplicity in Speech, and is acquired in the Exercise of different Professions. Now, whoever has frequented the *Italians*, sees that their Politeness is of the Nature of Respect, consists in Devotedness, in external Forms, Intervals of Adulation, in high flown Titles, in submissive and humble Subscriptions. The Manner of living in *Italy* generally inclines Men to Sedentariness. It is Ages since Women there have been concealed from Sight, and in most of the Towns they are still under great Constraint, unless of the very first Rank. Their Assemblies are serious in the Cities. Country Seats are nothing near so numerous as in *France*, the *Italians* chusing the small Towns for their Intervals of Relaxation and Indulgence. The military Profession is not much courted by the *Italians*. The ecclesiastical Temper and Disposition has pervaded the whole Country, *Turin*

rin and Naples being the only secular Courts; and in the latter, the Throne being but newly established, has not yet overcome all State Jealousies.

The leading Quality, which Urbanity or true Politeness requires, is Freedom, whereby being at our Ease, we are more susceptible of the Graces of the Exterior. The most antient Model of Urbanity has ever been military Politeness; that is, of some select old Officers, who have divided their Time betwixt the Capital and the Camp, Freedom and Equality constitute the military Deportment; so that Urbanity, or true Politeness, is by no Means the Quality of a Client, and differs still more from the extravagant Gestures and Protestations of which the *Italians* and *Levantines* are so full.

Thus, in all History, I meet with only four Nations famous for Arts and Hospitality, and who, abstractedly from the selfish Views of Traffic or a Court, have drawn thither any Concourse of Strangers. In old *Italy*, *Rome* was the only City whose Splendor and Glory attracted other Nations. These four famous Tours are those of *Egypt*, antient *Greece*, modern *Italy* and *France*. The Graces and the social Spirit, carried to Perfection of that Virtue, fill the Kingdom with Foreigners, who are desirous of borrowing *Venus's* Girdle for the Embellishment of good Sense and Solidity.

What then shall we properly call the *Italian* Politeness? 'Tis a Civility which takes its Rise in *Italy*, and reaches to the farthest End of *China*. Civility is made up of Ceremonies, regulated Visits, stated Motions and Gestures, forced Protestations: In a Word, of a starched insipid Politeness, without Freedom or Equality, like that of People, who are either Slaves and without a Nobility, or who are indisposed to War and never travel.

It is easily apprehended, that, in Justice, this Censure admits of some Mitigation in Behalf of the *Italians*, who are not to be brought into an injurious Comparison with the *Orientals*. But the Difference betwixt this Nation and the *French* shows itself at first Sight: The Nobility and Gentry of *Venice*, *Rome*, and *Naples* in particular, are generally defective in the Point of external Graces, and even of the austere and stately. The *Englishman* candidly yields in this Advantage to the *French*, but with this honourable Plea, that Attention to the Public leaves him no Time for rivalling the *French* in Politeness: Besides, a Concern for Liberty alienates him from it; he even dreads the Increase of Elegancy from the Example of the *Romans*, with whom Despotism and Sloth were of one and the same Date as Politeness.

The *French* Honour, in which we are tutored, to which we are animated from our Cradles,

Cradles, well deserves to be accounted none of the least Advantages of Education. This Honour so celebrated, the Principle of so many Shining Actions, and of such a Multitude of Errors and Follies; the Source of so many real Qualities and Chimeras, has been more applauded than censured by Foreigners. The *Frenchman's* Exterior, even in Pleasure and Love, carries with it an Air of Superiority and Conquest, with which he is better pleased than with the Thing itself. These fine Qualities have, by their Outside, given Offence to all Foreigners; yet the Delicacy of Behaviour, and Love of Glory, by the Nobility accounted the sovereign Good of Life, form the *Frenchman's* peculiar Honour, and may be improved to the Degree of true moral and political Virtue. Though under capricious Rules, the Ground of the Substance is not destroyed. I shall close this Parallel with the Faults of this Education.

Of the Faults of the French Education.

AMONG the *French*, the chief Care from the Cradle, is bestowed not only on the Cultivation of the Virtues of public Society, but of that which consists of pleasurable Assemblies; this is attending to the external Part and to the Trinkets of the Mind, rather than its real Ornaments. We are thrust

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upon the World before we are scarce out of our Childhood; and these Meetings, inspirited by the Presence of the Ladies, make an Impression on the Mind which never leaves it. The *Englishman* is too late in coming into the World. Of all Men, the *Frenchman* is the earliest Scholar in the School of Graces; the Model of his Education and Manners is before his Eyes; but it is no uncommon Thing for him to cull out as it were only the Imperfections and Flaws of his Model: Nature having given a Fulness of Graces and Beauty to Women, allayed them with Freak and Caprice, to abate of their Ascendancy.

Thus Man, in affecting to imitate Woman, seems to forget his Dignity, and sinks into Ridicule; he even loses the Supremacy of his Character in that Round of Society which is the Ground of the *French* Manners; and on the other Hand, the Women lose that Concern and Timidity which is so becoming in them; and this has given Rise to the Sarcasm of Foreigners, *that in France Men have not enough of the Man in them, nor the Women enough of the Woman.*

The Art of *France*, like that of Poetry, consists in setting off Trifles beyond any other Nation. 'Tis in Details that the *French* Politeness excels; it can give a lively Bloom to a mere Nothing, which in the Hands of an *Englishman* might be left to wither. 'Tis

a national Quality, almost without Exception. Genteelness circulates, as a very judicious Foreigner has observed, in the Market-Towns and Villages, and spreads itself like a subtle Perfume ; whereas in other Nations there is not a Spark of it to be seen out of the principal Cities.

Thus is Genteelness a general Characteristic of the *Frenchman* ; his Volatility not admitting of any fixed ruling Habit ; every Thing becomes him ; the Exterior of all Professions, the Garb of all Nations, which he imitates in the happiest Manner, himself remaining inimitable by Foreigners.

This Politeness, though general, has its Degrees ; the *Apogeeum* of the *French* Spirit, I do not say of the Genius, is a Futility in the Topics of Conversation ; this is the amiable Man. It had been a prevailing Maxim, till the *French*, that no Man could be any further amiable than as he attracted Love ; and I aver, that in no other *European* Language does this Word bear any other Sense : The *Frenchman* has even ventured upon the female Oeconomy, decking himself with all the Ornaments an aspiring Fancy can invent.

This Volatility, their peculiar Gift, is with them the Virtue of all Ages and Callings, of the Magistrate and Warrior, of the old Man and of the Philosopher. The volatile Man is the Hero of *French* Society ; his

Talent lies in skimming over a thousand different Objects in a Moment; avoiding any Appearance of Reflection, as the Poison of Life. Used to a desultory Manner of thinking, his Manner of writing cannot fail of being alike: All that is required of him is an amiable Vivacity, which above all Things never gives into the Ridicule of good Sense and Virtue.

Hence that Delicacy, often a most mistaken one, in taking up with what is ridiculous, and in closing with all these futile Politenesses, which to Foreigners have appeared only strange Oddities and Trifles. The Citizens Manners are, in the main, the national Manners: This Word alone implies Uniformity in Dress, Modesty, grave Colours, Harmony, Family Entertainments, chaste Marriages, Thriftiness, Retirement, the Study of the Laws and Literature, of all which, the *French* Sociableness has made a Sacrifice to Ridicule.

The *lordly Air* is the *Frenchman's Air*; no other Nation can reach it: But it is the better that it does not become them so well, and is not natural to them. It has been said by somebody, without accounting for it, that the Citizen's Air is retained at Court, but wears off in the Army: 'tis because at Court all is Form, its Intrigues are close, its Ceremonial rigid, and its Decorums in Carriage constraining. The Army and military Residences

dences have none of these Reserves; every one dresses as he pleases: Here the Carriage cannot be too bold and confident; the military State in some Measure puts all the Officers upon a Level; and Love and Pleasure are the main Springs of their Adventures, Designs and Revolutions.

Thus are the City Manners evidently the true Manners of Republics, and consequently of Virtue: But on the other Hand, the Affectation which is often seen in the Citizen's Character, lays it open to Ridicule. Court Follies, like those of Women, save themselves by a certain Grace, a natural Sprightliness; whereas there cannot be a Character fitter for Comedy than that of a Cit affecting to be something else; His Ridicule is too manifest to escape the Pencil, and not too coarse for the Merriment of the Court and the Wits.

CHAP. XIII.

The same continued: Of the true Extent of the French Character.

Geniusses of all Kinds are of the Growth of *France*: The *English* in particular, cannot sufficiently wonder at the Flexibility of the Exterior, and of the Disposition of the *French*; the Giddiness of their Taste, and the Suppleness of their Heart. To no Nation in the whole World has Nature been

so lavish of its Graces as to the *French*. You are at a Loss to know his Country, whilst it is the Happiness of Foreigners to become no Fashions but their own.

But this Advantage, of which we are apt so fondly to plume ourselves, abates of what Value or Reality there may be in it, upon considering that it chiefly belongs to young Men and Women. The Suddenness of *Metamorphoses*, and the Facility of Imitation are caused only by a slight Impression of the Objects, painting themselves on a *Frenchman's* Mind as transiently as on the *Retina*, and obliterating each other. To this so natural Imitation it is owing, that the graceful Air and Politeness, which in other Nations is confined to the Cities in *France*, circulates among all Ranks and Places. Let the sullen, proud *Englishman* say what he will; but what a Figure would *Europe* make without a Nation, where the Men naturally possessed of the Graces, which give such a Lustre and Life to Society, diffuse them throughout its Extent, since Women seldom go out of their Country!

It is easily perceived that the *French* must have engrossed all Wit to themselves; good Sense they freely leave to every other Nation.

What an admirable Contrast were that of a *Chinese* Mandarine or Doctor with a *French* Pretty-fellow! the same Pride and Affectation run through the volatile and minutial

Po-

Politeness of the *Frenchman*, as in the grave, cumbersome, and ceremonious Politeness of the *Chinese*, when he falls on his Knees, hides himself, and uses a thousand contemptible Devices to renew his Obeyances. Is there no such Thing as a Mean, betwixt the *Chinese* Rites and the *French* Airs?

The *Frenchman* is born with a Conceit that Ignorance becomes a Gentleman, and a Kind of lordly Air, heightened by his imaginary Pre-eminence above all other Men; yet this Imagination is clear of all Malignity, and has but little Pride in it.

Ever taken up with War, or a round of Visits, feasting, or Parties of Pleasure with the Ladies, he lives in much greater Dissipation than the *English*, *Germans* and *Italians*; and thus does not reap all those Benefits from Society which he may have expected. Far from relishing the philosophical Life, or literary Recess, his Neighbours upbraid him with preferring a slender Employment, to a Man of the most sublime and extensive Knowledge.

Yet, this very Levity, all this Rattle at which Foreigners take such Offence, is useful to the State, and in an essential Article. *Boccalini* relates, that the *French* Monarchy being summoned before the Tribunal of *Apollo*, would not be prevailed upon to correct the turbulent, volatile, impetuous, hale-brained Disposition of the *French*; alledging

that on the contrary, it was one of its best Instruments in War, and hazardous Enter-prizes.

And indeed, in a warlike Monarchy there is an actual Necessity that the Bulk of the People should be of a maddish and ingenious Composition : In a Republic one's Country is an all-sufficient Motive. In War, one's Country, or the Soldiers Phrenzy are the Springs : To these the *French* Officer adds more exalted Principles.

The Point of Honour is peculiar to the *French* ; it is so general, that in Cottages it offers itself to the Officers : 'Tis the Produce of that Brilliant Temper, the Characteristic of the Nation, and to which its most glorious Actions and most fatal Disasters have been owing. The Rage of Duelling, which has committed such Ravages in the Kingdom, derives from no other Source. It must be owned, that it is a singular Glory of the *French* Expeditions and Conquests, that they were atchieved by their own Blood : But on the other Hand, on this Spirit of Honour is ingrafted that false Glory, from which all our Misfortunes have flowed.

Upon a judicious Inquiry into the Cause of our Losses, it is found to be this Prepossession. Our Knights, dazzled by a seductive Blaze of Glory, scorned Artifice and Delay, and would always get the Victory by pure Dint of

of Valour, and in open Field, when they might have destroyed or starved the Enemy only by having a little Patience. At *Crecy*, at *Poitiers*, at *Verneuil*, at *Azincourt*, at *Pavia*, &c. we were beaten; and generally shall be so, upon our own Principles.

In all these Losses the Nation did not flinch from the King; no Complaint was heard against him; the royal Presence appeased all Murmurs; whereas, if an *English* King was unfortunate, Outrages or De-thronement were sure to be the Consequence. In truth, the *Valois* were extremely beloved, yet not beyond their Accomplishments, being comely, brave, dexterous at all Exercises, eloquent, popular and liberal: But in those very Qualities, putting them too much in the Power of Favourites, they turned the Genius of the Nobility towards that effulgent Glory, which young Men are so greedy of. Most of them wanted Maturity to become great Princes, yet from them we hold that military Politeness, which has diffused itself all over *Europe*, and will be the perpetual Ornament of the Nation. They gave a softer Turn to our Manners, by the Inclinations of their own Mind; and their personal Graces, together with the Love of Literature, which they preserved amidst the Ferocity and Ignorance of continual Wars.

Let us resume the social Manners; Those of the *French* are every where idolized

zed by Youth and the Female Sex ; likewise all the Trades which administer to Shows and Diversion are their Well-wishers.

A Relaxness in Manners diffuses itself from *Paris* all over the Kingdom ; and it is my firm Belief, that were the Capital in a Situation naturally productive of more steady Tempers and more vigorous Minds, *France* would not lie so open to the Reproach of that Giddiness and Inconsiderateness which give such Disgust to Foreigners.

A Philosopher, who wrote about thirty Years ago, on the *English* and *French*, has been pleased to pronounce, that in this Kingdom the Men were not Men enough, and that the Women were not Women enough, the latter having little of that Timidity and Disorder which, in them, is so very becoming ; but, what is infinitely more, this Foreigner goes so far as to add Modesty. As to the Men, the Substance of his Judgment is, that the good Qualities, and the Faults of both Nations are palpable ; that he should be much more afraid of being an unworthy *Englishman*, than an unworthy *Frenchman* ; but that he would rather be a worthy *Frenchman*. This is giving the Palm to the *English*.

He who considers the infinite Number of Master-Pieces which *France* has produced in all Kinds, especially the Literary ; and on the other Hand, casts his Eye on the national Levity of Manners, for the Mind's Sake,

cap.

cannot hold out against pardoning the Heart, Lastly, the Foreigner, who at *Paris* falls in with the Pretty-fellows and reads our Pamphlets, I fancy that being charmed with the *French* Humanity and Politeness in other Respects, he will for the Heart's Sake as readily excuse the Mind.

C H A P. XIV.

Sequel of the Subject. Of good Company, and the Resemblance of the French.

THESE are certain mysterious Societies, which in the Opinion of the *French*, include all good Company, to which no others can have any Pretension: Language, Dress, Fashions, Persons, Virtues, Tastes, Pains and Pleasures, Sickness and Health are quite other Things from those of the People, who are so kept under by Respect, that they dare not have Pleasures, or at least own them before their Betters. To be admitted into this Sanctuary, is the Summit of the *Frenchman's* Ambition; especially by the Wit it is considered as his Fortune. A *Roman* did not glory more in that celebrated Name, nor an Alien sollicit the Denizenship with greater Ardour.

Thus it is easily perceived, that what is called Character, in *France*, is not common among private Persons. The Nation has certainly a very glorious one, bearing the Stamp

Stamp of Honour ; but were a Foreigner to judge from common Usages, and the Practices in Meetings and Companies, he might well ask, *where is the Soul of France ?* A Temper which would break the Shackles of Custom, and aim at Distinction, is carefully depressed at its first Appearance : A particular or singular Child is what Parents dread above all Things ; the wise Mothers even make it an Article of their Prayers. *France* is the Land of Imitation ; the Sovereign himself is ruled by Fashion All Follies which have any Agreeableness in them, all Caprices which have an Air of Grandeur, are Things which nobody takes Exception at amongst us ; but excepting these, a *Frenchman* seldom rises above common Life ; and hence it is that there are few vigorous *Gauls* in *France* ; nor is there that Vein of good Sense among the People in general, as in *Italy* and *England*. There must be an Assembly of the whole Nation, to suppress those Customs which are the Tyrants of Society, and to do as great Things as they have done. The *French*, when dispersed, want Resolution to close with their happy Understanding, and against their Conscience value themselves upon one general Mode of thinking, through a Weakness contracted in the Elements of their Education.

Esteeming Merit, his Levity ridicules it ; he at once admires and is ashamed of Virtue,
The

The *Frenchman* in general, till his thirty-fifth or fortieth Year, lives in an Agitation so incompatible with Wisdom and Direction, that Foreigners look upon him as a Madman, till he has reached the sober Epoch: Mad is a harsh Word, and must be taken as coming from Enemies; but indeed, it is naturally impossible in any less time to divest oneself of the Levity and vain Amusements, in which we are involved from the Cradle; Fashions, Trinkets, Tattle, Rounds of Visits, Airs, Breeding, Flights, *Man of the Day*, free and confident Speech, good Company, light Talents, false Reputations, Railleries on Virtue, Romances, Tales of the Fairies, Table Refinements, Love Quarrels, Rattle and Riots of hare-brained young Fellows ruining their Health, Caprices of Honour, Maxims of Ridicule, which alone engross a Score of our Years; lastly Wit, all that Vortex of moral Atoms which whirl about in the Head, what Name can be found for such *Minutiae*?

Nothing but the natural Excellency of their Genius and the Love of Glory will ever be able to rescue the *French* from these Defects of Education; for here the prejudiced Foreigner himself bears Witness in our behalf, that a *Frenchman* in his fortieth Year is so altered, that you would take him for another Man. This Fruit, indeed, is sometimes seen in the Interim to wither on the Tree, or the Tree itself, for want of lopping off

off the useless Branches, or some other Culture, loses its Fecundity: but if the Fruit attains to its proper Ripeness, none more lightly, none more excellent:

Nations situated at the Extremities of the World, and living in the earliest Times, as the *Chinese* and *Egyptians*, and the *French* and the *English* on the other Hand, have followed a Plan of Education, and of civil Government diametrically opposite: Among the former, there was a Rite to every thing; for Instance, every Morning the Daughter-in-law must not fail to pay her personal Duty to her Mother: Such is the Usage, and so the Law enjoins. Ceremonial in Visits is not less an immemorial Custom than an Article of the Law: As Morals make Customs, so Customs make Laws. The Government, more particularly in the two *European* Monarchies, scorning such *Minutiae*, has left the social Customs to the Humour of the People. Without deciding on the superior Wisdom of the different Legislators, Tranquillity was manifestly the Scope of the Sages of early Antiquity, as Family Government was their Model: *Europe*, on the contrary, by the martial Disposition of the People, was destined by Providence for Action, and to connect different Nations by Commerce.

After this, let us freely give up to the *Greeks* and *Romans* the Advantage of Education, that being incontestably their finest

Part, and free from the Inequalities objected to in the Systems of the former.

All who have given us Accounts of *China*, exceedingly magnify their Education of Children, who with their Mothers Milk are taught to imbibe the Principles of Order, Respect to Parents, and Love to their Country, as if there could be any such thing under a despotic Government; and for all the rest, they are reduced to no more than Ceremonial, to a Letter without Spirit, to domestic Instructions in the oriental Taste. Upon comparing the jejune or capricious Education of the *Europeans*, or the dead Letter of the East, with the public Education of the *Grecian* Youth, exercising them in Games, animating them with Rewards, and distinguishing Virtue with the most attractive Honours, there can be no Competition; the Superiority is infinitely on the Side of the Antients.

BOOK III.**CHAP. I.**

Of the Government of small Republics and their Genius.

THE natural State of Man was Liberty ; it was Nature's Primæval Gift. The Orientals receded from this Advantage, or made such an ill Use of it, that without a speedy Recourse to the severe Remedy of Monarchy, Society would have been totally unhinged.

It was something later before *Africa* broke in upon its first Institution. *Egypt*, sensible of its Happiness, persisted in opposing fixed Barriers to arbitrary Power ; even the very Hours of each distinct Occupation or Amusement for the King, and every Article of the Royal Household was stated. Large Republics were formed on the Coast of *Africa* ; among others, *Carthage* : The Levity and Ferocity, which is more natural to Maritime People, could not for a long time be reconciled to absolute Power ; they also breathed a more determined Spirit of Freedom, their Situ-

Situation being more temperate than that of the other *Africans*.

The first States were very small, being often no more than a Town and its Territories. The first Men, being yet full of the Ideas of an original Equity, shewed a Reluctancy to bow their Necks to the Yoke of Power; and thus every Tribe and every Colony stood upon having its own Laws and Chiefs.

These petty Dominions must be owned to have been defective in Point of Stability: Force could easily deprive the People of their Liberties, and it frequently happened that a Revolution was no more than the Work of a few Days. What is the Substance of the Histories of the Republics of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the lesser *Asia*, but intestine Perfidy, Corruption and Fermentations? These slight Edifices could be supported by no other than a jealous intricate Polity, and consequently such a one as had neither true Freedom nor true Grandeur.

What external Advantages were wanting, seemed to be counterbalanced by the internal; their Morals did not clash with, or weaken the Laws, they harmonized of their own accord; the Government of a small State is soon completed, Subjects capable of the Administration being easily found: The Magistrate might be said to hold the Reins at

his Fire-side, all Disorders and Offences are under his Eye.

Besides, model the Laws by the Tempers, and all will go well. The *Gascons* and *Normans* are a very different People, yet under the same Laws. Had *Athens* and *Lacedemon* been founded by one common Legislator, though at so small a Distance, such was the Contrast of their Tastes and Talents, that one Form of Polity would have thrown both into Confusion. *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, doubtless, had each studied their Countrymen, and thus avoided that Collision betwixt the Manners and the Laws, which is the Bane of all Governments. The limited Extent of a State facilitates the Observance of the Regulations. Pleasures were not as with us, secreted within Doors, but consisted chiefly in Sports and Spectacles, at which it was a Branch of the Magistrates Office to assist, to which the whole Nation was summoned, so far from being dependent on the Caprice or Taste of any private Persons. Small Republics are like large religious Communities; the Citizens went to the Shews as those to their Processions, or any other devotional Solemnity. The public Feasts of *Cretan* Institution, afterwards obtained in *Greece*. The *Lacedemonians* had their Seasons of Festivity, but always in public. *Athens* had particular Officers, who went from House to

House, to comptrol the Quality and Delicacy of the Dishes. The Customs of Banquets, even to the Seats of the Guests, were all explicitly prescribed by the Law of the State, enforced by those of Religion. Music was necessary in the City to lenify the Austerity which Intenseness to Polity might produce: In this, *Plato* and *Aristotle* agree; the first even affirms, that any Innovation in Music never failed to be followed by some Change in the State.

All this, doubtless, was practicable only in small Republics, before they swelled with the Desire of Conquests: These Ideas were too refined to be cultivated amidst the Dirt of Arms and the Bustle of Affairs. The Greeks in their golden Age, inspirited by that elegant Polity, never did, according to their Expression, pollute the Sanctity of the Table; so far from it, that they dignified it with ingenious and sublime Conversations, in which moral Questions were a frequent Topic, as appears from *Plutarch's Collection*, called his *Symposiacs*, or *Table Talk*.

The Duration of such Societies among People of a Vivacity like that of the Greeks, seems a Phenomenon: But if it does Honour to their good Sense, yet such a multifarious Division of one Nation, however favourable to the Exertion of Talents or the Increase of the People, ought in our Times to be rejected, were it only for the Weak-

ness of such Dismemberments: It would occasion continual Wars, and can be suited only to a People who have kept out Luxury, as the *Switzers*, whose rocky Situation, together with their Bravery, is an impregnable Defence. Not less than a hundred Revolutions were known in the Government of *Athens*. The *Florentines* ran through all the Forms of Government used among the *Greeks*, or described by *Aristotle*, and after all could not settle themselves. This Kind of Sovereignty also has been ejected out of *Bologna* and other Cities.

These Societies have thrived amidst the *German Phlegm*, that Nation having a public common Law, great Princes to preserve an Equilibre, and an Emperor as Protector General. For Want of this two-fold Rank, the States General of *Greece*, that is, the College of the *Amphyctions*, were never able to restore its Concord and Tranquillity.

Now let us see, whether in domestic Concerns the antient Polities were as perfect as ours.

C H A P. II.

Whether the antient Polities in Learning and Wisdom were equal to those of the Moderns? And what Advantages they had.

IT is very justly that the Antients admired the Wisdom of *Ebenicia* and *Egypt*, which had

had excited the Emulation of the *Greeks*. To decide the Question, the political, the civil, and the ceremonial Law must be carefully distinguished.

A Plan of Legislation common to all the Antients, was to cast together in one Mould, Religion, Morals, Usages, and the greatest Part of the political Law. They had, as it were, insinuated Religion into Society with an Ingenuity and Agreeableness, of which all the Particulars deserve a separate Work. This Idea of Government has with great Propriety been copied by the Founders of religious Orders, whose Convents, though dispersed, never rise above a petty State; and the same Spirit running through them all, gives them the nearer Resemblance to the small Republics of the Antients. But was it not a Sollicism in the Legislators of *China*, *Egypt*, and other vast Monarchies, to have adopted the Laws and Manners of *Sparta* and *Corinth* for their immense Dominions? Those Laws, it may be said, they judged fittest for the Times in which they lived; for, let it be observed, that the agreeable and fruitful Climates of the Antients did not a little contribute to a Simplicity of Taste, and consequently to a Moderation of Desires: And besides, the Prejudices against Trades and Sciences having not then got Footing, they were Strangers to the Difference betwixt free Conditions, which afterwards crept in.

To this it was owing, that in their pure and generous Laws they dared to consult only their own natural magnanimous Tastes and Dispositions, which at first incline the Reader to imagine that the Antients were quite another Breed than ourselves. Luxury was strictly suppressed, as introducing an Inequality in Wealth and Opposition in Sentiments, depreciating Virtue, and depriving the Laws of their Protectors: They excluded Women from Company, they subjected their Pleasures to Rites and the most rigid Inspection, blended Manners and Laws, and thus gave to the former that Austerity which is inseparable from the latter. The Silence in *Egypt* and *China*, amidst such numberless Swarms of People, is amazing; a large Empire moving on with a concise Retinue of Laws, is an Object worthy of Admiration. Great Painters have given great Shades and great Lights to great Subjects; few Figures, but strongly touched, and of an inimitable Expression. Thus with a simple Dignity did the first Legislators model Government. It being their Advantage to work on natural Manners, the Props of their Legislation were simple, Manners, Poetry and Music. All the Maxims of Morality, the Praises of the Deity, even the Methods of Agriculture, and the Rule of Trades, were in Metre and set to Music; and in this Soul-moving Art consisted the Master-piece of the Grecians.

It

It was a Point with the *Chinese* to make their Language difficult, and the *Egyptians* mystified every thing with Figures and Symbols, probably to enhance the Glory of Knowledge by the Difficulty of attaining to it; no other rational View, if that itself be rational, can be thought of, at least in the Founders.

Thus these Philosophers impressed on their Works the real Qualities of their own Mind, Love of Tranquillity, and Attention to the Superiority of the Soul, which they imagined to be impaired by female Company. They limited the Morals of the Nation, as they did their own Inclination to the Empire. The *Egyptians* were no Travellers, and were extremely reserved towards Strangers that came among them. *China* has opened but one of its Ports, and a long Time it was before it could venture even on that. This Reserve seems indeed to have prevailed antiently, though in a different Degree, throughout the whole Universe.

Herein the Legislators also fell in with the Temper of their Nations. There is not a Part of the World where Morality is in such Vogue as in the East, valuing it above all other Sciences: The *Orientals* are more easy, docile, and sedentary than other Nations; so that the sage Founders of *China* and *Egypt* may be said to have filled those vast Empires with Systems of Morality.

All these Reflections will be seen to lead to the Solution of the celebrated Problem betwixt the antient and modern Laws. The primitive Men might, as has been said, give strict Laws to simple Tempers, to simple Minds, and simple People, according to the Expression of the Politicians. The Antients of the first Age observed an exact Medium betwixt the pastoral Doves, as the *Arabs* and *Tartars*, and the People governed by the civil and political Laws of *Europe*: While the Constitution of Men remained unimpaired, Physic, consisting only in a few simple Remedies adapted to a few Diseases, could not deserve the Appellation of a formal Science. The Physicians of old, with admirable Patience, consulted Nature; excelling in the Knowledge of Constitutions and Symptoms, and in the Use of agreeable, simple and natural Therapeutics.

However, the antient Polities, though august in their Simplicity, could not be so ingenious and profound as those of the modern; but all those sublime Institutions falling to Decay by the Increase of Craft and Iniquity, Mankind was obliged to secure Society by Polities adapted to the Profligacy of the Times, and consequently more artful and diversified.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Defects of the early Governments in
Morality and the Civil Law.*

PLATO banished *Homer* out of his Republic, but not till he had presented him with a Garland for the Excellency of his Poetry. Such a Sentence against the ancient Legislators would be too severe; yet must it be owned that their Ideas are narrow and insufficient, with respect to the Situation of modern States. The Love of contemplative Wisdom predominating in the first Institutors, they forgot to provide suitable Laws against Declensions of Morals and Revolutions in the State, which they ought to have foreseen and guarded against.

They framed the political Empire upon the Ideas of Family Government, and full of their pure Intention, they expected to maintain Virtue in the Empire as a Father does in his Household. Having more of the Sage in them than the Philosopher, and of the Philosopher than the Politician, they did not form their Plans on Principles of Greatness, or could not apply them to their Contemporaries.

First, they radically and irremediably vitiated Education by the unlimited Licentiousness which they granted in a Plurality of Wives. This Indulgence was a fatal Stroke to

to the Nobleness and Immateriality of Spirits, together with the Faculties of the Body. The Children of Sovereigns, brought up like others within the Seraglio, were from their Infancy surrounded either with voluptuous or cruel Ideas; and these Impressions could never be worn off by a public Education, which was not used in the East. The presumptive Heir under such ignoble Tutors as Eunuchs, imbibing only Fear and Ignorance, was without any other Resource than shedding his Brothers Blood, and himself left to the Dread of the same Fate. In the Plurality of Wives, I know they aimed at an Increase of the People; but waving any Discussion of this Expedient, there is not in all civil Polity a more weighty Object of the Attention of the Laws than a Plurality of Wives. How is this Comparison to be made good? To keep us to one Wife, many political, and an infinite Number of Civil Laws unite their Force: For an unlimited Number, the *Oriental*s have but one Law; and that (as Travellers affirm) almost every where the same. The Difference of Genius and Governments shews whether the southern People, or we, have thought with most Dignity on this Article.

Thus the Misfortunes of all the southern and eastern Nations has ever been a Multiplicity of ceremonial Laws for Society and Religion, and a Paucity of civil and political Laws:

Laws: Defects inherent in the Nature of an absolute Government. As it admits but one Will, and a dreadful Kind of Silence reigns throughout the desolate Country, a few Laws serve its Turn; and, on the other Hand, the least Innovation in Manners, the very Cries of the Women would disturb the Silence which is necessary to this Government: these Disorders were to be prevented only by giving the Force of a perpetual Law to every little Custom and Ceremony.

Thus the *Egyptian* Priests, the eastern *Magi*, the *Chinese* Doctors, only sipped of that civil Prudence, of which Heaven gave in larger Draughts to the *Greeks*; but the overflowing Cup fell to the *Romans*. The Government of Rites, the classical Books of *China* and *Egypt*, and the old sacred Books of the *Perians*, might uphold such a Ceremony, as that the Daughter-in-law should every Morning pay her personal Respects to her Mother; but without the Concurrence of civil and political Laws, what is that and all such Usages to a Plan of Morals?

C H A P. IV.

Of the Defects of the early Governments in political Laws, exemplified in Egypt.

AMONG these Reflections on the civil and moral Government of the primitive Nations, their Polity must not be omitted. The Ritual

Ritual Government seems to me, excellently well adapted to the first Ages of the World and the Genius of the *Orientals*, they being superstitious, subtle, eloquent in bodily Gestures, and scrupulous Observers of Ceremonies. Thus the Founders of the Law had made a temporary Provision for the inward State, and by Methods suited to the Genius and Temper.

In *China* they found a People of ductile Humours, and disposed to be happy; in *Egypt* there was the most refined Subtilty, and an excessive Love of Pleasure: The former were easily managed by the Solemnity of Rites and the Decorums of Usages; but the latter required more majestic Ordinances. The Government and Religion invested themselves with Mystery to excite a reverential Terror. An awful Veil over Religion and Government, a sublime Doctrine on the State of Souls, and immense Sepulchres, struck voluptuous *Egypt* with Ideas, than which nothing could be more opposite to its Nature. The modest Sentiments, the placid Tempers of the *Chinese*, were to be adopted, and the Torrent of *Egyptian* Pleasures to be stemmed. Happy and sagacious Legislators, had they connected political Laws with their moral Institutions!

A single Glance on the Laws of *Egypt* and *China*, discovers the Legislators Dispositions: Peace and Tranquillity were their

Scope ; the whole Oeconomy of the Empire terminated therein. Had the Means been suitable, it was the highest Reach of Wisdom ; but alas ! the *Egyptian* Institutions soon gave way, and sunk irretrievably into the strangest Corruption. The People of the South and East have always been looked upon by the Antients, as unequal to the Laws composed for them by their Founders ; but, withal, it must be owned that the Legislation itself was in many Points weak, faulty and deficient.

Despotism and a blind Obedience within the Heart, from a physical Cause, were renewed in the Foundation of *Egypt* and *China*. In *Egypt*'s best Time, in the flourishing Administration of *Joseph*, a penetrating Observer might have foreseen the Fate of the national Moralist : Every Inch of Ground, except the Church Lands, was in the Hands of the Crown : Such were the Marks of Respect paid to the King and his Officers, that they were fitter for a religious Worship than for civil Homage and Ceremony.

After mixing the Seeds of Dissolution in the Government, this was the Method they took for its Support ; on one Side, there was a total Neglect of the Military Virtues ; and on the other, of Commerce : Thus were they guilty of the most astonishing
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Contradiction's towards the People under their Government.

Egypt thus being far from warlike in its Constitution, and its Laws a Contradiction to its Manners, could not maintain itself ; its vanquished People became the most corrupt of all the South and East : They wanted those Exercises, without which, from such Dispositions, nothing great or generous is to be expected.

It might possibly be a necessary Severity, though in a large Empire it may not hold good ; I say, the Interdiction of the splendid Arts might be a politic Severity, as a Barrier against Innovation. This was the Period of all happy Boldnesses, of all exquisite Stretches of Genius ; an universal Avidity and Meanness took Place.

But, by the Decay of the Mind, War and Commerce, Men, whom *Cæsar* calls the most spirited and most ingenious of all Men, who yet were not allowed to compose any Poetry or Music but for Temples, struck into dangerous Arts..

Alexandria, and the Towns of *Lower Egypt*, swarmed with Fortune-tellers, Perfumers, Quacks and Buffoons ; besides, they furnished *Rome* with a considerable Part of their Slaves, who, by their Tricks, were often seen to step into a fine Fortune : To these, add the Inventors of Games of Chance, and the Farmers of the Revenue ; and this has

has partly been the Condition of the *Italians* of these latter Ages, when once they came to a Disuse of War and a Contempt of Commerce. There was another unfavourable Circumstance to the Morals of *Egypt*; the Fertility of this Country arising chiefly from the Overflowings of the *Nile*, Husbandry was not very toilsome; lastly, the Priests, who engrossed all the Secrets of Physic, all History and Law, were extremely reserved in their Communications. At this rate, in what could the other Branches of the Nation employ themselves? What Exercises remained for Spirits of such Vivacity, in whom, beyond all others, the Thirst of Curiosity, and the Propensity to Writing, are most vehement?

It was not enough to erect immense Works, in order to raise the Character of the Nation: If the Pyramids are the Admiration of our Age, in the Eyes of the *Egyptians* themselves they were only Monuments of Pride and Despotism: The Administration of Justice was interrupted; even the Temples were shut during an hundred and six Years, while those stupendous Works were raising; and, after all, the Kings who carried them on were punished with the greatest Ignominy known among the *Egyptians*, the Denial of Interment.

I am not ignorant that the physical Causes were far from favouring the Government of *Egypt*,

Egypt, and I think I have noticed it in the First Book ; but neither were the political Laws of any greater Influence or Tendency for giving Force and Activity to Prudence. This Empire maintained its Virtue for several Centuries, against the Despotism of Kings, by the Despotism of Religion ; which is the only Barrier in the East ; as the Laws and Honour constitute those of Europe.

C H A P. V.

The Government of China, and the Genius of the People ; wherein Mention is also made of the modern East.

WHAT is Man ? This is the leading Question to be put to a *Chinese* in any Dispute about Government ; for if his Answer be agreeable to human Nature, there's an End at once of the Question, in the Preference of *China* to *Europe*.

Their Commendations of their Government will hardly meet with Credit from a sound Thinker, who reflects on human Nature, of which the *Chinese* have had but an imperfect Knowledge ; and on the Nature of whose wise Laws, inforced by the martial Genius of the People, and the Example of Revolutions, have hardly been an Equipoise against Agitations in the antient and modern Governments of *Europe*. Is there any Comparison betwixt the Barriers of Morality, which

which the Industry of the antient *Chinese* invented, against the Attempts of lawless Authority, and the Body of Laws and Arms with which the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and other magnanimous Nations have successfully made Head against Tyranny? The Illusion of the *Chinese*, and the magnificent Panegyrics which some *European* Writers have so profusely bestowed on the Oriental Government, proceed from more than a single Cause:

Previously to setting Foot in *China*, there should be a thorough Acquaintance with the political and civil Laws of *Europe*, in order to set them against the so much boasted Manners of *China*. The Reader at first has enough to do to guard himself against the Delusions of Imagination, which, in those Kingdoms, is at the highest. The punctual Observance of the Externals of Religion, the lively and animated Faith of the eastern and southern People, the Phraseology of the Language, the general Genius of Poetry, (and in all its Fire and Energy) the natural Enthusiasm of the Inhabitants, a grave and solemn Deportment, the disguised Simplicity of Law-Proceedings, the easy Taxes and Duties; with all these, it is no Wonder Travellers should be drawn into high Conceits of such a Nation.

The East, and *China* especially, is the Land of Morality; From the earliest Ages of the World, a speculative Philosophy has begot Indifference and Supineness. Among the *Mahometans*,

metans, there's nothing but Sentences on an abstracted Life ; and the *Chinese* are all for practical Maxims. These Countries are overrun with Contemplators, Hermits and Recluses, venerated and even consulted by the Government. All the Sciences have been sacrificed to this, whose Pride is founded on the Contempt of the others : It has often been my Wonder, that the Orientals, who think so well, should act so ill.

Now, after this, could it be imagined that the *Chinese* are of all Men the most insidious, if the Fact had not at length been owned by all the Missionaries ? It is a common Practice in *China* to have three Pair of Scales, one for the Buyer, another for the Seller, both with false Weights ; and the third just and equal in its Weights, to be used when the Buyer and Seller are so well matched, that the one cannot over-reach the other : even Fraud itself is not punished in that Kingdom : not that it is permitted, as many have given out ; but that it is not suppressible by Polity, being so universal.

Cruelty and Fraud are still more predominant in the other Parts of *Asia*, where Craft and Violence are perpetually trying Masteries. The Government neglects the People, despising their Distress without any Apprehension from their depressed Spirits ; but the Fortunes being mostly raised from such detestable Measures, are continually exposed to Alarms from the same Quarter. The Ministry is above all exposed to bloody Revolutions : Justice itself, that

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Justice so cried up by Merchants, Strangers to the Wisdom and Equity of political and civil Law, has most properly been stiled a *Sultan's Justice*, blind and excessive, never distinguishing betwixt the Punishment and the Offence, the meer Polity and the Law, or betwixt the Fault and the Crime.

The Number of Laws among all sound Politicians bears a Proportion to the Degree of Liberty and Property of the Subjects. They who are so fond of the rigid and speedy Justice of a despotical Government, are not aware that this is no less than preferring the Execution to the Work itself, and the Simplicity of the Springs to the intrinsical Goodness of the Machine itself.

C H A P. - VI.

Of the Faults of the Chinese Government.

TO return to *China*: Its Government is despotic, but corrected by Laws beyond any other in all *Asia*: It has Courts of Justice, Formalities, Appeals, and Rules; this is a Justice which cannot be withheld from the *Chinese* Princes. Whether the prodigious Increase of the People compelled the Government, or whether the Motion impressed on it by the first Legislators still remains, or whatever the Cause may be, there's not a Monarchy in all the East to be compared to it. Yet is it true that the *Chinese* are generally poor, that the foreign Commerce is infinitely beneath the Extent and

Means of the Empire, and that among them there is such a Thing as a stable Property; whereas in all other Parts of the East there's no other Tenure than at Will.

But to conclude with the last Analysis; here again we must argue from Manners; as by Manners Laws are modelled, and adapted to them. All the *Chinese* are Slaves: In all oriental Monarchies 'tis the universal Level of Subjects: There's no Nobility in *China*; yet a Monarchy without Nobility is a political Chimera. The chief Spring of the Government is for securing the Servitude of the Subject. All the Missionaries agree that *China* is ruled by the *Cudgel*. Princes of the Blood have been degraded, for being excessive Lovers of Cock-fighting. A Mandarin on a Journey is every where received with Acclamations, the People respectfully thronging about him for the Honour of pulling off his travelling Cloaths; and when on his Seat of Justice, he is never spoke to but on the Knee: He can also order the Bastonade; and the *paternal Correction*, as the juridical Term is, reaches from forty to fifty violent Blows. Strangers, who happen to slip into the slightest Fault, and all Delinquents, appear before the the Magistrates, loaded with heavy Chains or Clogs. Private Visits, with all their Formalities, are regulated by Ordinances. There is nothing more common than for People to hire themselves as Proxies to the Malefactors, and as such undergo the Bastonade. The History of their criminal Cases, affords Instances of Princes of the

the Blood put in the Pillory, and of a thousand other Punishments, also studied and extraordinary, that, for the Debasement of human Nature, it is certain nothing fitter can be imagined. To close with a complete Proof; *China* and *Egypt* are upon a Par in the Cultivation of the military Virtues.

The Authors of the antient Laws carried the Rules of Civility to a palpable Excess. Among them, Servants and Peasants speak to one another kneeling. The World does not afford any thing so tedious and fantastic as the *Chinese* Ceremonial, its Punctilioes, its long Visits, and its Constraints on pleasurable Meetings. The Government of Rites, though framed with the maturest Deliberation, favours of the Infancy of the World, the Time of its Origin. The Law inspired the Citizens with its own Mistrust; it put a Check upon the Bent and Caprice of Individuals. Yet these are the Boldnesses, which, like the Arts, embellish Society. Even the *Chinese* Ministry never could free themselves from its Shackles, nor make so much as this Step towards Perfection, that the Almanack should no longer be a State Affair.

The Manners of *China* and antient *Egypt* had nothing decorous in them. The military Spirit and all foreign Commerce were proscribed by the very Institution, and Soldiery held in Contempt. *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Athens*, &c. being small Republics, were so taken up with Attention to Freedom, that no other Passion, not even Love itself, could be much indulged a-

mong them. A despotic Monarchy, adapted for a profound Peace, and rejecting all foreign Intercourse, is destitute of all Resources: After their domestic Business was done, they had no other Alternative but Speculation or Sloth. The only three Principles of political Motion are, the Spirit of War, Conversation with Women, and Commerce with Foreigners. The Spirit of War is the Basis of Honour; Honour is the Support of Manners, as Manners is of the Law: A Concurrence of these three Causes overthrows a despotic Government.

The Kingdom of *China* is not unlike those valetudinary Constitutions, which are kept upon their Legs only by Art and Medicaments. It must be owned, that nothing comes nearer to Art and Machinery, than that Strictness of Discipline in Usages in themselves indifferent, and their endless Regulations. The Missionaries, possessed with Admiration of that Country, where they had made such extensive and difficult Conquests by their Labours and Talents, and often even by their Blood, imagined themselves in an enchanted Country, to see a vast Empire governed on the Model of their Institution; a blind Obedience, a strict Frugality, together with the Discipline of Rites, or a religious Observance of Usages in public and private Life.

But, after all these over-strained Panegyrics on the *Chinese* Government, one just Objection invalidates them all: *It has not made any Men.* What is the Spirit of Rites but a mere external

external Thing ? If the Sublimity of the *Grecian*, the Gravity of the *Roman*, the Force of the *English* Laws, and the Manners of *France*, have all scarcely sufficed to a Government, what is to be thought of Rites ?

The Government of Rites was further defective in a still more momentous Point ; as it directly thwarted Man's very Destination. In order to maintain the Rites, they were confined within the Empire ; no Foreigner was to come in, nor any Native leave the Country : This was at once extinguishing the universal Society of Mankind, one of the chief Views of Providence, and laying a Restraint upon Truth : Accordingly, the *Chinese*, in this Interdiction of conversing with other People, became haughty and savage, despising and hating other Nations. The Freedom of the Gospel is the very Reverse of the Ritual Laws of *China*.

This sullen Law was equally baneful to the Progress of Truth and Literature. Instead of correcting the Inconveniences of Liberty, by wholesome political Laws, for above four thousand Years have the *Chinese* laid out all their Sagacity in new moral Laws, or rather in dressing up the old in a new Garb.

The Idea of a political Government, taken from the Model of that of a Family, was suitable only to the heroic Ages, which are long since past in all Nations : However, it is not to be thought that those Regulations, under which the antient *Chinese* bowed, are sufficient to bridle the modern. The Succession of Thoughts

in such a Series of Ages, has given Birth to new ones, which require correspondent Ordinances. That the *Chinese* are the most knavish of People, is not surprising to me; every Day brings forth its Vices; whereas the Laws are of two thousand Years standing.

As to all the other Eulogiums of the Antients and Missionaries, I join in them. Amidst all the Flaws which Experience has discovered in the *Chinese* and *Egyptian* Legislation, this was the Nursery; the inexhaustible Lamp from whence all the Legislators drew their Light. The Wisdom of these two Nations will ever be in high Celebrity, and stand in the Records of Fame as the Master-pieces of Despotism.

Here a short Parallel of the general Spirit of the Laws of the antient and modern Monarchies cannot but occur to the Reader's Mind, before he is led to the Analysis of the *European* Nations; it will even be a Recapitulation, which in philosophical Works is so very necessary, and, as such, seldom omitted.

C H A P. VII.

Reflections on the general Spirit of the Laws of the antient and modern Governments.

Experience, Time, and the Discovery of several other Nations of an opposite Genius, have raised in *Europe* a legislative Plan, quite different from that of the antient Monarchies. On the Ruins of *Pbenicia*, *Greece* rose, copy-

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ing Religion and Science from *Egypt*, but rejecting its Government ; and, according to the Custom of the Times, added to several civil Usages the Sanction of Religion, leaving a proper Scope for Cheerfulness and Festivity ; whereas the Minds of the *Chinese* and *Egyptians* were cramped with a torpid Gloominess and Melancholy.

Here we may date the Science of Politics, and the Law of Nations. The *Greeks* concluded League, sent Embassies, made Alliances, established the fœderal Republic, and thus founded the Law of Nations, which was afterwards displayed in all the Majesty of the *Roman People*.

The Face of the Universe received a second Alteration from the Conquests of the Barbarians ; at length, after many Wars and Collusations, the Law of Nations recovered itself, and *Europe* settled in a Form of Government unknown to all the Nations of Antiquity. The Ferocity of the feudal Polity gave Birth to the Point of Honour ; and, (who could have foreseen it !) from the Genius of these savage and warlike People, sprung the *Primum Mobile* of our Manners ; I mean, the Spirit of Society. As the Seraglio has every where been the Forerunner of Despotism, the Freedom of Women has been a no less certain and universal Indication of civil Liberty, both among the *Scythians* and *Germans*. Then it was, that the Propensity of Women to imitate Man, induced them to set up for Heroism. The Approach
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of War strikes the Eastern Women with Terror. Secluded from the Intercourse of Men, they know not the Value of Courage, and have no Relish of Glory; they never receive a Reward of the Valour of a Son or Husband.

Thus, of Man's Virtues and Woman's Charms was composed the invaluable Catholicon, by way of Pre-eminence called *Manners*; and by which alone, Arts, Freedom, and the Subjects themselves have been preserved in Monarchies. The Din of Arms imposes Silence on the Laws; but Honour and Manners will speak at all times.

It has been noticed, how *Sparta* endeavoured to render Women useful to the Cultivation of Glory, and the Prosperity of their Country: *Rome*, in the urgent Exigencies of the Republic, by its political Skill, happily compassed this, and turned it to the best Account; yet without any Derogation to their Gravity, which is always seen to maintain its Ascendant; and Commerce with Women was never ingrafted into the Spirit of Society, nor improved into such Resources for Arts and Manners, as modern Politics have extracted from it.

The *Greeks* were in the Track of the Method, which, among the *Europeans*, has enlarged the Genius of Women. The public Games and Shews of that Nation might have supplied the Place of indiscriminate Converse, as our Tournaments did, till Ladies quitted their solitary Castles to shew themselves at Court and in Cities; the naked Youths, and other

other Indecencies of the Spectacles, stood in need of some Amendment, otherwise there was a vast Fetch of Policy in those alluring Institutions.

In order then to draw a concise Sketch of the Parallel of antient and modern Laws, it may be said that *Egypt*, *China*, and the Monarchies of the first Ages, considered Man as what he ought to be ; and the latter, as what he is. The antient Laws are more sublime, more suitable to the Force and Simplicity of an infant World ; whereas the modern Laws are adapted to a World in its Maturity. The *Chinese*, the *Egyptians*, and all the Antients, precluded any Changes ; the Legislators seemed to deprive themselves of the Power of making new Laws, as Circumstances might alter, or new Necessities arise. The *Greeks*, the Moderns, even the *Romans*, were more natural in their Politics ; their Institutions being never invariable. *Europe* at present seems to have entered into all the Principles of Stability for securing its Duration, without any need of altering the general Laws : The antient Monarchies could not be supported but by Peace.

The primitive Laws were excellent for connecting a Society of Philosophers ; the modern are calculated for a Community of Men : the one are pure and simple, the other natural and agreeable : The antient Laws favoured Royalty ; the modern had a Regard for Liberty. *China*, *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, and even antient *Greece*, were founded by Priests ; Literati

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or Wits, and their respective Characters, are every where observable in them. Modern States have been governed by Politicians, to whom Time had given an accurate Insight into Men and Things. Mystery, Silence, Peace, the Solemnities of Religion, and Reserve in Doctrine ; lastly, a studied, or rather a clogged Taste, which manifestly runs through the Religion and Usages of the civil Life of *China* and *Egypt*, every thing denotes a Legislation of Priests, Literari and Wits.

If, as *Plato* ardently wished, Philosophers have not reigned, Kings have sometimes philosophised ; and the Institutions of Philosophers have obtained in vast Empires.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Japonnese.

BEFORE we leave *Asia*, it seems indispensably necessary to say something of a Nation separated from the rest of Mankind in Position, and almost disclaiming all Commerce with them ; these Circumstances indicate that I mean the *Japonnese*. *China* has introduced its Religion, together with its Sciences, into *Japan* ; of which, however, the right Name, as used by the Natives, is *Nipon*, or *the Foundation of the Sun*. But, whatever Similarity there is betwixt its Government and outward Forms and those of *China*, the Difference in Tempers is so wide and multifarious, that it is

is surprising how any observing Travellers could think of ranking them among the *Asiatics*.

In this Nation are to be found Monuments of an immemorial Liberty, which overthrow all the Arguments that might be drawn from despotic Forms, against the Bent of the Nation's Genius.

First, hereditary Nobility is no less common in *Japan* than in *Europe*; I mean as to Princes and the chief Families. A Nobility and Despotism are never seen together. The Fiefs of their Princes are often as large, and yield a Revenue equal to those of several Electors of the *German Empire*.

Secondly, all Travellers agree, that this Nation is so ferocious, so turbulent and warlike, as not to be held in a civil Order, but by Laws extremely severe and sanguinary.

Thirdly, civil Wars fill whole Centuries in their History; so that the only Precaution the Emperor could find against those Princes intrenched, as it were, in inaccessible Places, was to oblige them to a six Months Attendance at Court every Year, leaving their Wives and Children as Securities for their good Behaviour during the other six.

Lastly, here the Point of Honour, after being lost in the numberless Crowds of *Asiatic* Nations, lifts up its Head. Glory is the universal Motive with a *Japonnese*; prompted by Glory, he risques his own Life when any Engagement requires it, or extinguishes it when no longer to be held with Honour. They seem

to be the *English* of *Asia*. Since the finest Ages of the Church, no Martyrs have done greater Honour to the true Religion. Haughty, daring, splendid and generous ; they little seem to be a Branch of the demure, sedentary, speculative, knavish and exacting *Chinese*.

It is not to be questioned but some Strictures from *China* have reached *Japan*, but not of such Force as to destroy the natural Character against the Influence of the Climate, which maintains in it that manly Difference from all the other *Asiatics*.

Most of the large Empires may, I think, be concluded to have some particular Districts, whose Genius may have been over-looked by Travellers, and are more heroically tenacious of Liberty ; but in no Part, *Europe* excepted, is there a Nation so considerable, who are Slaves by the Injury of outward Causes, but free by the Cast of their Mind and Dispositions.

Nothing remains towards a clear Distinction of *Europe* from *Asia*, but to bring the Marks of a despotic Government into one Point of View, to facilitate the Application of them to the Character of Nations.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Signs of Despotism in the Character of a Nation.

THE Author of the finest of Poems has said in his *Iliad*, that *Jupiter* deprives a Man of half his Sense whenever he reduces him

him to the Condition of a Slave. The chief Faculties must be vitiated, before a Man can be taught Servitude. The Imagination of the Orientals and the People of the South, who are as it were naturalized to Slavery, forms the first Class of those predominant Imaginations, which Philosophers have so sharply censured. The Stile of the Writers is puffy, disguised by Metaphors, enervated by futile Prettinesses, uneven and whimsical by the continual Contrast, or Antithesis of Words and Thoughts, without Freedom, Force or Nature: Now, such an Idiom is the very Speech of Slavery and Imperialness.

A despotic State admits of no Manners. However the Manners of the Women in *Turkey* and *Perſia* may have been extolled, these Manners are confined to the Seraglio; and no Manners are to be accounted political and relative to the State, but under the Freedom of Women.

In such a Government the Point of Honour is utterly unknown: Its military Discipline is above any of those Considerations which correct the Acridity thereof in the *European* Armies. The sudden Mutinies of the *Ottoman* Soldiery, so far from proving any thing to the contrary, is the strongest Indication of a thorough Despotism.

The fourth Sign, and which is at the same time the real Principle of a despotic Government, is Pride: This inhuman Vice manifests itself in the outward Marks of Respect which are paid not only to the Sovereign and his chief

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Ministers, but also used among the Generality, Servitude, if I may use the Expression, begetting Servitude *ad infinitum*: whereas in a mixed Government, the great Lords may be possessed of such a Power as is a sufficient Check upon any Arbitrariness in the Prince, and yet the People be under the most servile Subjection, as in *Poland*.

Property stands there upon a very slight Foundation; the Prince, without so much as the Form of Justice, disposing of the Life and Honour of eminent Subjects: 'Tis an absolute Power over the Persons, which alone properly characterises a Despotism: and whatever Invasions he may make upon Possessions by Edicts, either general and peremptory, or varnished with the public good, as a Vehicle to make them go down the better, they prove nothing against the rigid Principles here supposed: This is the fifth Sign.

A despotic Monarchy is without a Body of Nobility; the People want Courage and Spirit, and have been frequently subdued. In fine, the Power is in the Hands of a set of Men, who are no further such than nominally; these are the Eunuchs; a Government adapted to such Ministers, and Ministers fit for such a Government.

Their History affords no Revolutions which aimed at a Change of the Form of Government; in all the eastern Wars, the only Question was, who should sit on the Throne? and the Revolutions are still attempted on the same Mo-

Motives, and have all the Characters of the same Genius: This is the seventh Sign.

'Tis not with an affectionate Confidence that they approach the Sovereign, but with Fear, like so many Beasts, or with Presents like Slaves: It was so from the beginning; the Scripture informing us that there was no appearing empty handed, not only before the great Officers, but before the Prince himself.

The ninth Symptom of this dreadful State-Distemper is an universal Languor in all its Parts: Their lethargic Silence is never roused by the Noise of Traffic, the Works of Arts, or the Contentions of the Learned. If it happens to be disturbed, 'tis by enormous or extravagant Acts of Justice, where all the proportional Institutes of the most judicious Nations are utterly unknown, so far from being observed; for though this Government be not in some Instances without a Polity, Laws there are none, or very few.

These are the Rules, which to me appeared the most simple for settling the Proportion of Tempers with the principal Kinds of Governments: And these Signs, which however concur in different Degrees, seem to me a Denotative of a Nation's Fate; these Characters being of the same Date with the Origin of the People to whom they belong.

After the Signs of Despotism among different Nations, Order calls for those of Liberty; accordingly, these I intend for the Subject of the next Chapter, and in the ensuing this

Freedom shall be more fully discussed, in contrasting it with the Treatment of Slaves.

C H A P. X.

Of the Signs and Love of Liberty among different Nations.

THE Greeks were the first, among whom any prophane Legislator appeared, who gave Mankind an Insight into Liberty. The World used to be intirely governed by antient Usages, and after the Seraglio Mode. The ritual Government may be said to have prevailed universally, and all the Founders of States seem to have been in Love with the Simplicity of this System; but the *Greeks* carried in their Hearts an Idea, and consequently a Love of natural Liberty. Far from interdicting Foreigners Admission into *Greece*, they spread themselves among all Nations in quest of the Sciences; no sooner were they formed into a Republic, than they freed the Government from the Servitude of Rites, placing it under the Protection of the civil Laws.

Thus was it this Nation gave Birth to the first Plans of Politics. They sent Embassies, and contracted Alliances; there General Assemblies, State Jealousies, and Balance of Power came to be known. All *Greece* was in Motion, taken up with Intrigues; and as Foreigners easily introduced themselves among them, so the natural Manners of the Country gradually underwent a Change.

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However, they did not totally lose Sight of the antient Rites: A very considerable Number of the Usages in social Life were transferred among the Ordinances of Religion. The Republican Form fixes the Mind in Morality, and they may be said to have observed a Medium betwixt the Levity of *French* Customs, and the Austerity of those of *China*. My Subject does not concern itself with the Form of the *Grecian* Governments, with the Advantages and Inconveniencies peculiar to every Constitution, on which the modern Professors have been so voluminous. The Genius of the Nation is all that I am to unfold. I propose to fathom that Ground of Liberty which resides in the Genius, and to determine the different Ranks of Nations according to the Kind and Degree of their Love of Liberty.

We view every thing through the Medium of Imagination; *Omnia ex sensu*. Never did People enjoy this precious Gift to a Degree equal with the *Greeks*: It was Imagination which, warmed by a judicious Love of Liberty, dictated those sublime Laws, in the Knowledge of which the learned so rationally pride themselves; on which they discourse with such Rapture, which were the Admiration of the *Romans*, which have been so often imitated, and which will never want their particular Application, in regard to Politics, and especially to civil Government.

The Legislators introducing philosophic Ideas into small Republics, made a bold but wise Attempt; the Solidity of the Government of a

large Monarchy consists in its appearing natural, and that of a small Republic in its seeming Singularity: Being naturally weak, without a Kind of Enthusiasm in its Citizens, it would fall to Pieces. The Springs of a large Dominion are vast, deep, and hidden, and seem less inviting Subjects of Admiration.

Nevertheless, in reading even the first Ages of *Greece*, there is no departing from that Mis-trust which is grounded on their known fabulous Humours: And the Art of Fiction indicates a dangerous Affinity with the servile Taste of the Orientals. This, in my Opinion, is the Key to the Genius, and the first Kind of Liberty.

Lively and extensive Minds, like those of the *Florentines* and *Greeks*, readily take a Stretch from one Extreme to the other: Sometimes in a Fit of their native Enthusiasm they attempt and perform the most extraordinary Actions; and soon after, jealous of some Preference, or seduced by a Love of Entertainments and Pleasures, private Persons throw off all Care of the Republic, go over to the King of *Perſia*, or conspire with the *Romans* or the Kings of *Macedonia*.

The *Florentines* renewed in all their Excess the Taste of the *Athenians* for Shews, and their Heat in political Disputes: Both of them are known to have changed their Government above a hundred Times.

The *Athenians*, the *Greeks* of *Lesser Asia*, (the *Lacedemonians* excepted, who were of a more

more philosophic Cast than the *Romans*) had not divested themselves of the simple Ideas relating to Man's Equality. The only two Ranks in the Republic were those of Citizen or Slave: This Right, though it does not include the Privileges of Nobility, was not common in the shining Ages: The *Romans* on the contrary, could not bear a Republic without Distinction of Orders. All the Prerogatives of the Altar were seized upon by the Patricians; and when the military Commands and the Magistracies were brought upon the Carpit, then it was that begun the famous Quarrels betweeen the People and the Senate, which brought on a Change of Government.

I omit the Servitude in which Debtors were detained by their Creditors; the Masters also abused their Power over Slaves with an exessive Rigour. On the other Hand, the Duties of Clients towards their Patrons, a Duty coeval with the State itself, were carried so far, that a Temper incompatible with the perfect Equality of Citizens, was plainly observable among them, even in the first Ages.

Besides this Homage of Clients towards these Patrons which they selected out of the Senate, the Minds of the *Romans* must naturally have been elevated by the frequent Triumphs which every great Family could compute among their Ancestors and Kindred; a Pomp, whose Splendor infinitely struck the Minds of the People, and increased their inward Respect. This Veneration for the Senate

appeared still more in the Elections, especially for military Commands, when all the Interest and Power of the *Tribunes* would not awe the People from pouring in their Votes for the Nobility.

Since then, a free, political and warlike People could not get the better of the Respect which Nobility impressed on the Commonalty, it would be very rash to lay any Stress upon the Revolutions of Opinions in the present State of Governments: This is the second Kind of Liberty.

I make three Distinctions of Liberty.

Philosophical Liberty, which is founded on Humanity; such was that of the *Greeks* and of their Colonies in *Lesser Asia*; &c.

Political Liberty, the only End of which is the Maintenance of the Laws, and the Preservation of the Republic; this is the *Roman* and *Venetian Liberty*, and that of all Aristocratical Governments.

Lastly, *Natural Liberty*, founded on the Equality among Men: This, whenever Conquest prevails, is curtail'd and cast into a new Mould, the Ground of its Nature still remaining unalterable: To this are owing all lordly Privileges of all Kinds; this is the Liberty of the *European Nations*. Now let us see which is the most substantial.

The Liberty of the *Greeks* arising from a more delicate and tender Root, such as the Sentiments of the Heart, was the easiest to be destroyed, and as easy to be restored. The Male-

Malecontent *Romans* never went off to Foreigners; but (except the *Spartan* Roughness alone) I find all the *Greeks*, even *Athens* itself, guilty of the most infamous Adulations, all using Expressions, fit only for the lowest Slavery, in which the *Asiatic Greeks* had before shew'd them a Pattern.

This People, so distinguished for Municipal Government, became corrupted, as is the Condition of all worldly Things. *Plato* already lamented the Alteration of this flattered People, as more dangerous than any which kingly Power could have effected: The Republic sunk under the Seducements of her Orators: She lost her Republican Character by her Alliances and Commerce with Kings. *Athens*, prostituted to *Demetrius*, appears no longer the same: But their Sensibility being connected with Vivacity, they recovered this Liberty by the same Principles whereby they had lost it.

The *Romans* and *Aristocracies* in general have been more strenuous Defenders of their Liberty, though its Origin was not so pure, and it wanted both the Extent, Advantages and Pleasures of that of the *Greeks*, and of more popular States.

The most solid is natural Liberty, and the human Mind glows with a strong Sense of it, and its Concern is that of all Mankind: It is founded on the Idea of Equality, which after a Lapse of many Ages, again lifts up its Head. This Idea was more or less broke into, or modelled, by the Right of Conquest, the feudal

Laws, and the Subordination of Ranks and Fortunes, which is necessary to every Government: But still the essential Ground of the Freeman, which consists in being Master of his own Person, was not violated by the Conquerors of the *Romans*.

These different Kinds of Liberty will appear in a stronger Light, from a Comparison with the different Treatment of Slaves.

C H A P. XI.

Examples or Effects of these several Kinds of Liberty relatively to the Treatment of Slaves.

AT *Athens* they reckoned, twenty thousand Citizens, ten thousand Foreigners, and four hundred thousand Slaves; but so gentle a Rein was held over them, their Servitude was so mild, that an admirable Subordination was universally seen amongst such a superior Number: Whereas the *Lacedemonians*, much severer Masters than the *Romans*, and of the most rigid Polity to be met with in History, exposed their Slaves to all Kinds of Dangers. In one Night they put to death no less than three thousand; so that at the Battle of *Leuctra* there were not above a thousand native *Spartans* in the Field.

Among the *Romans*, the Slaves ploughed the Ground chained, as is still the Practice in *Barbary*, and lay in Dungeons, the Ladders being taken away, a Caution which still subsists all over the East. Three Fourths of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, have by accurate Computations been

been proved to consist of Slaves. *Cato* the Censor, who may well be called a *Roman Spartan*, used to make Sale of his Slaves, when disabled by Age. Such was the Cruelty of Masters, and the Vindictiveness of Slaves, who were ever delivering Informations, that the Emperors were obliged to pass an Order, that their Statues should be an Asylum for Slaves; and *Nero* himself was the Author of this humane Law. A Slave of *Vedius Pollio*, with whom *Augustus* was at Supper, having broke a Glass, threw himself at the Emperor's Feet, only begging that he might not be gnawed by the Fishes before he was killed, it being usual to throw them alive into the Fish-Ponds for the Lampreys to fatten upon; and some Authors say that the Emperor could not obtain his Pardon.

The Conspiracies of the Slaves daily increasing, and the Courts of Justice being deluged with all Kinds of Guilt, Recourse was had to that famous Law, by which all the Slaves of a House where the Master had been killed, were to be put to death, if at the Instant of the Murther they had been within hearing; the first Execution of this Law was upon the Assassinate of *Pedanius*, Pretor of *Rome* in *Nero's* Time, four hundred Slaves being then dragged away to death; and the Soldiers were ordered under Arms to prevent a Rescue by the Commonalty.

We find the *Parthians*, on the contrary, using their Slaves with a parental Kindness; accordingly forty-five thousand Slaves served with the

the most faithful Order and Bravery under four hundred and fifty Freemen, against *Mark Anthony*; but as to the Treatment of Slaves, the *Spaniards* in *America* have refined upon all the Accounts in History. In *Europe* the Body is free; and even the antient Infranchisements of the Inhabitants of Towns and Villages, when examined with Attention, only serve to prove the real Servitude, in which Nobles held their Vassals.

This is the Result of what a general Idea of the *Greeks* and *Romans* offers to the Mind on their Modifications of Liberty. All that remains now, is to lay open the Grounds of that Government which suits the principal Nations of *Europe*, as most agreeable to their Genius.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Government adapted to the Genius of the Europeans; and of the Northern People, in which some Difficulties concerning doubtful Nations are cleared up.

IT may be generally affirmed, that in all the People of *Europe* there is a Seed of Republican Principles; and that not one of them ever totally degenerated into that civil and political Idolatry, which we find in the History of the *Greeks*, and in that of the *Romans*, under the monarchical Government. But, in order to put this peculiar Character of *Europe* out of Dispute, some specious Objections that lie a-

gainst it must be removed. All the *Russians*, the *Tartars*, a considerable Number of mountainous Tribes, the People of *Poland*, have an Appearance of Servitude; whilst, on the other Hand, the *Arabians* seem to assert the Liberty of the South, of which it has been so unjustly deprived. Let us then pluck off from the latter the Mask of Liberty, and from the former that of Slavery.

The Objection arising from the People of *Poland* has been already answered, by a proper Distinction of personal Servitude, from those Labours and Services which those People owed to the Nobles, and which have nothing in them of the Eastern Slavery; this absorbs every thing, Persons, Children, even their very Wives and all, absolutely: no Right, not even the Honour of the Sex, being reserved: It is founded on Polity and Religion, on the Complexion, the Turn of the Imagination, and lastly, on Antiquity.

The very Barbarism of the *Russians* and *Tartars* is a Plea for their Servitude. The *European Tartars* inhabiting an immense Plain, without Forests, without Towns, or any Shelter, the Rivers almost always frozen, continually living in a State of War and political Depredation, necessarily become Slaves as soon as they are subdued.

The *Tartars* of the North of *Asia*, who overrun *China*, though they entered it as Conquerors, they left it as Slaves. The Throne is in *China*, and the People carry back to the North the Servitude into which they fell in the South; the

the like may be said of the Province of the *Parthians*, and of an infinite Number of small mountainous Communities, which being Parts of a Nation where the Government is despotic, are naturally carried away in the Vortex. Thus is the Genius of the *European* People, and of the northern Climates, by Nature guarded against Despotism ; and if in those particular Provinces of *Asia* it has got Footing, it is to be imputed to foreign Causes. Though at *Constantinople* there be no unmixed Nation, to whom the Reproach *Tacitus* throws on *Rome*, may be applicable, *Omnia pudenda buc confluent* ; yet the Robbers of *Africa*, the Enthusiasts of *Asia*, and other Particulars of their Character, are easily distinguished from the Subtily of *Greeks*, the Ferocity of *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, the Impetuosity of *Tartars*, and the Cowardice of the *Spabis* or *Turkish* Troopers.

The South affords but one Nation, which at first Sight may seem to contend with *Europe* for the exclusive Character of Liberty which we have ascribed to it ; I mean the *Arabs*. It is affirmed, that there is among them an hereditary Nobility. They are of an intrepid Courage, in a State of War coeval with their Origin jealous of their Liberty, always dwelling in Tents, and continually on Horseback ; whereby, at first Sight, one might mistake them, had not Nature, which formed them upon the eastern Model, took Care in other Lineaments to preserve the Resemblance.

The

The History of Tyrants exposes their several Artifices for enervating a People: Some introduced an effeminate Music, Games, wanton Shews, public Inns where Guests were entertained at Free-cost: Others carried their despotic Finesses so far as magnificent Foundations for Prostitution, which were always furnished with the most beautiful Slaves. But one, more inventive than the rest, obliged Men to wear the most gay and sightly Silks, Stuffs, &c. and to use all the Ornaments peculiar to Women: They were every Day led to perfumed Baths, where tempting Girls brought them a Looking-glaſs, and curled their Hair.

I am apt to think that, in *Arabia*, the Despote might carry his Point without all these expensive Cajoleries and Seducements; there being no small Analogy betwixt despotic Impressions and the Superstitions, Romances and Fables, of which this imaginative People have been the Inventors. Such is their Frenzy for Poetry, that it is the Speech (and in its most ranting Flights) of their public Assemblies; even all their Histories are in Verse, as in the first Ages of the World. Formerly they adulterated Philosophy with occult Qualities, sympathetic Virtues, imaginary Forms, the Products of that same luxuriant Wit, which now inclines them to Fables. Their Books, like all which have any Vogue in the East, and are sold at the *Bazar* of *Constantinople*, run mostly upon Poetry, judicious Astrology, cabalistical Knowledge, and Chiromancy.

Let

Let the Despote disarm that wandering People, by collecting them into Towns and Villages; but especially let him countenance and maintain the Fables, which Sovereigns, with very good Reasons, held among the Secrets of despotic Government; he then may, with no Difficulty, slip the Yoke on the People; all Hearts will be his, their Minds being already fitted for him.

Having placed the General Character of Europe above Comparisons, we may now take a particular Survey of it.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Government suitable to the Genius of the French, and of their Love for the King.

THE French Character is founded on a rational Obedience, and which never is without Reserves, except for the Sovereign. The military Commands are in the Hands of the chief Nobility, and yet throughout the whole Body of Officers an Equality is kept up, which, however it may seem hid in a strict Subordination, never fails to shew itself on those delicate Occasions where Honour is at Stake. This is a Temperament of Discipline unknown to the Germans, their Subordination being clogged with very mortifying Circumstances, even for the Officers. This Spirit of Honour is nothing but a delicate Idea, which never must be exposed. He that heads the French must never remove the Vail of Honour, under which Sub-

ordi-

ordination conceals itself. The *German* Generals, by the Rigour of their Discipline, have often been under a Necessity of employing Rewards and Punishments, for the Execution of what the Spirit of Honour, which every common Soldier in *France* breathes, performs by Instinct : The *Frenchman* thinks himself free, and at all Events will appear so.

The *French*, amidst all the Licentiousness and Disorders of the Feodal Polity, retained a sacred Respect and Love for the Sovereign. Nations of a predominant Vivacity have a Turn of Mind which makes them gay, happy, and contented with their Lot ; gives them an Aversion to Extremes, and inclines them to Reconciliation and Sociableness. Amidst our most violent Combustions, a judicious Reader always discerns that Tenderness for the Sovereign, which is natural to the *French*, and soon brings about Union and Tranquillity : Of this, our religious Wars, and the Troubles of *Paris*, are pregnant Instances. Though fiery Spirits take the Alarm at the least Noise, and eagerly pursue any Appearance of Novelty, they also as easily subside. Our Civil Wars, for thus the Rebellions of Vassals may be termed, were in some Measure authorized by the great Defects in the Government ; and those of *England* have often been occasioned by a real or pretended Abuse of Power, a Violation of the Laws, the Despicableness, or the Misfortune or Incapacity of the Sovereign.

Tis

"Tis perhaps a mere Effect of Chance, that our Wars never produced total Revolutions; but let it be carefully observed, that the antient Vassals, having taken Advantage of the Weakness of the second Race, to set up for Sovereigns themselves, judged that they were authorized to levy War against the King; which discovers an erroneous Principle in the Laws and Constitution, rather than a Revolt: Besides, the same Vassals were seen, on a thousand Occasions, flying to the King's Aid, and shielding him in the Day of Tribulation and Danger. Afterwards, the Factions of *Burgundy*, *Orleans* and *Berry*, availing themselves of the Misfortunes of *Charles VI.* fills all *France* with Acts of Violence. After the Restoration of *Charles VII.* there was a perfect Calm till the Stirs on account of the new Opinions; the Professors of which, however, aimed no farther than at a free Exercise of their Religion: And, among all these Distractions, never was any Insult offered to Majesty by a national Act. If *Henry IV.* so justly the Darling of his People, met with a violent Death, it was by a particular Hand; the execrable Instrument of the Remains of that fanatical Cabal, which was still lurking in the Kingdom.

Thus our Civil Wars, which ever broke out in the Minority of our Kings, never failed coming to a Period with Regencies, Women, and other State Weaknesses: In fine, the League, though supported by *Spain*, and tho' the King's Affairs were then at a very low Ebb, mouldered

mouldered away, and was quite suppressed in about six Years.

But, 'tis to be further noted, as a characteristic Point in these Affairs, that this Disobedience was owing to a violent Apprehension in the Minds of the People, the Magistrates, and a considerable Number of Grandees, that their Religion was in Danger ; and no Motive could be more powerful ; but it was transitory, and not directly levelled at the King : Whereas the *English* Rebels, usually flying to Arms upon an Infraction, whether real or pretended, of the Laws and constitutional Privileges, which form an endless Chain of Causes and Arguments, it was against the King, and even against the Sovereignty, that they drew the Sword.

The Fidelity of the *French* will still appear more strongly, by a Parallel of our Civil Wars with those of *England* ; the Effects of which have indeed been extremely desolating, and occasioned total Revolutions ; though less dangerous in their political Nature, and not of such a Malignancy against the Sovereignty.

C H A P. XIV.

Parallel of the Civil Wars of England and France.

THE feodal Government seemed indeed to imply an Acknowledgment of the King's supreme Property ; but with this Homage, as in the chief Vassals it was little more than an unmeaning Form of Words, still the

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Point

Point of Re-union betwixt them and the King was, in its Nature, of a more intricate Determination than in *England*. By these Wars, the Princes became habituated to an Equality with the King ; and it frequently happened, that they united no better against any Foreigner who could augment their Privileges, and confirm their Independency. The *English* Wars were betwixt two infinitely unequal Dignities ; one Peace there made up all ; those of *France* required a thousand distinct Treaties of Pacification.

Further, did not the Vassals, by thus exhausting the Forces of the Crown, weaken the Exertion of that Power which they pretended to leave the King, for the Support of the general Government, and the Defence of the State. If these Wars did not directly offer Violence to the Prerogative, they had a Tendency to alienate and withdraw the Subjects. The *English* seem'd to threaten the very Existence of regal Authority : The *French* Vassals were really destroying it, by exhausting it.

Privileges were the *English* Cry ; whereas the *French* demanded Sovereignties : The Name was more respectable in *France* than in *England*. The *English* Nation, or its Representatives, were not unlike the Vassals in *France* ; more dangerous, as being an aggregate Body, but easier to be disunited ; the Proportions betwixt the Sovereign and Subjects not being alike in *France* and *England*. Besides, one single Vassal was of himself redoubtable ; whereas

whereas, any little Division in the Parliament quashed their mightiest Projects.

Experience has shewn us many Princes who have come to an Agreement with Parliaments, few or none with Vassals. For if the King, assisted by some, subdues others, the Auxiliary is sure to rate his Service high, and claim a Share of the Conquest; his Issue may prosecute the Demand; whereas in a Parliament no Son succeeds to push his Father's Designs. A Member of Parliament cannot stretch his Views so far as the Vassals, who set Punishment at Defiance, and require Possessions, Honours, Immunities and Privileges.

Yet the bare Name of King, which has more Weight in *France* than in *England*, has in Time got an uncontrollable Ascendant. The *French* Temper has mollified all the Asperity of those Wars, whereas the more ferocious *English* have envenomed theirs, which for the most Part were but verbal Altercations, the Parliament not using Weapons: Yet scarce can their History shew two successive Kings till *Henry IV.* of which one has not been cut off by some sanguinary Catastrophe. Nor was *Henry VII.* quite secure, though he united the Rights of the two contending Families, *Lancaster* and *York*: Pretenders were set up against him; and many were willing to deceive and be deceived.

In the Course of our History these Wars are not found to have imbibed an irremediable Poison from Religion, which is far from being uncommon. The Stirs of the *Hugonots* were

of a short Continuance ; under a King it does not appear that the Protestants were ever much to be feared ; for under a Woman there may be a great Difference. From the Accession of *Henry IV.* to the Throne, they have been always quelled without Difficulty. In the great Lords it was rather Mutiny, Discontent, Projects, Cabals, Apprehensions and Disobedience rather than determined Revolts. *Sully* had pre-engaged the Majority in the Assembly ; he allows that the Generality, five or six only excepted, were resolute, complying, faithful and steady. No sooner does *Henry* set out to hold an extraordinary Convention, but all the whole Gentry come to throw themselves at his Feet. The *Bouillon* Faction was come to nothing ; *Lef-diguieres* himself could not face six thousand Men, and a Handful of poor Gentlemen was all that stirred among the Protestants.

Under Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Ministry, the *Rocheller*'s Manifesto spoke their Sense of a Liberty still surviving ; but in the whole subsequent Progress of the War, the Rapidity of the Royal Forces is unparalleled. Fifty Years wearied out the boasted Zeal of the Reformed. The *French* natural Fickleness being prompted by Consternation, threw open their Gates ; and the History of the Reduction of so many strong Places without one Assault, in a few Months, I may say in a few Days, though provided with every thing necessary for Defence, extremely abates the Wonder of that Operation for which the Ministry was so pompously applauded. *Rochelle*

chelle itself, though ill-defended, might have held out.

In our antient Government, the Nobility were not sparing of their Lives and Fortunes; but such was its Precipitancy and Fickleness in its private Oeconomy, that it was the Commonalty which saved *France* from being conquered by the *English* above two hundred Years sooner. This generous but ductile Nobility plainly found the Necessity of having Recourse to Gownsmen for Reflection, and saw them without any Heart-burning admitted into the general Estates, and invested with a Participation of the national Authority. Then it was that the *French* for the first Time began to reflect. The finest Ordinances are dated since the Admission of the Commonalty. The Right of Males was the only fixed Point in the Peerage-Court.

Under the Minorities of *Lewis XIII.* and *XIV.* these were the Proceedings of the great Lords, Demands upon the Court, Cantonments, Intrigues, small Levies of Men; sometimes a civil War ensued, but still with a Tenderness of Bloodshed and Observance of Respect: The Passage of some Rivers, or taking a small Place or two, closed the whole Scene. Then followed Variations, and Pardons upon Record in Parliament; and a little Favour entirely healed the Wound. The Magistrates and the People generally stood neuter. In this Kingdom the known Impossibility of a Revolution, the Love of Titles and Posts, and the King being the Centre of universal Respect,

facilitated a Re-union; and though the Prince of *Conde's* imperious Star drew the *French* Genius beyond the usual Limits of its Sphere, yet the King's Majority, like the superior Splendor of the Sun, scattered every Cloud. Love took Place again every where, and decided every Measure. No Civil War in this Kingdom is chargeable with the Violence and sometimes Atrocity of those in *England*, *Holland*, and even in *Germany*.

Insulars attend to their Privileges; never has *England* been seen to use Policy with its King, and thus its Civil Wars became so cruel. The public Scene in *England* was infinitely more bloody than amongst us. The striking off a Duke's Head is a common Event in their History, and that too in pusillanimous Reigns. The Agitations of *England* are the Effects of its own inward Principles, whether of the Temper or the Constitution of the State: Divisions sprung up amongst them, either from a Contempt of the Laws, or with a View to defend them against the Encroachments of the Crown, and manifest themselves by an universal Movement in the Nation, of which innumerable Instances have fallen out, even since the long contested Rights of *York* and *Lancaster* were united in the Person of *Henry VII.*

C H A P. XV.

*Whether the French can bear Liberty; and of
public Oeconomy.*

LET me be indulged this imaginary Hypothesis, as connected with my Subject, in which Characters are to be analysed in every Supposition. Here I consider the *French*, in themselves, as in a State antecedent to any Form of Government.

In order to have raised a *French* Republic, at the Commencement of the Nation, and prune it from the Vices contrary to the Nature of a free State, no other Course could be taken than the Establishment of General Assemblies, for fixing the Manners, and enforcing sumptuary Laws. Their innate Levity, and the Whirl of Company, will not allow of sedate Reflection, unless kept steady to it by some Authority.

The inflexible Rigour of republican Tribunals, and even the Purity of the domestic Tribunal, would be scarcely supportable to the *French*; the latter was in high Veneration among the *Romans*, by the Stile of the Moral Judicature, *Judicium de moribus*. As for the Ritual Tribunal, that Yoke which the *Chinese* have borne with Respect these four thousand Years, the *French* Genius justly despairs it, as an odious and intolerable Folly.

Whatever Sciolists have taken upon them to advance, all who are well versed in Antiquity unanimously agree, that, in the most tempestuous

ous Times, the *French* settled ecclesiastical Laws ; and, amidst all the Convulsions of Parties, and the Licentiousness of Dispensations, gave to the Body of the national Maxims an Immutability, which no Policy of any other Nation has yet come up to. The general Assemblies of the ecclesiastical Body, so frequent in this Kingdom, with the Sovereign's Permission, and the particular diocesan Synods, seem to preserve the *Gallican* Church in a State of natural Convocation ; and the Maxims are perfected in the Tribunals.

The briguing of Employments began with the Nation ; and this Fondness for Titles and Offices seems to me to belong peculiarly to the *Romans* and *French* : Even in the imperial Ages the former were forward, according to their Expression, to have a Hand in the Republic ; and upon any Supineness in standing for public Offices, excused themselves to their Friends with great Seriousness. On the contrary, a Relish of Privacy, a saturnine Complexion, and the Fluctuations of the Government in *England*, Revolutions in the East, the Charms of Solitude in *Italy*, and Sloth in *Spain*, deprive the Court and the Public of an infinite Number of Persons, consequently of some able Officers. Thus it immediately appears beyond doubt, that all the Branches of the Republic would be cultivated among the *French*.

The Authority of Posts in *France* has approximated the two Orders of the State, and softened

softened the Distinctions of Nobility beyond any other Government, *England* excepted.

Tiberius Gracchus, in depriving the Senate of juridical Decrees, and transferring them to the Knights, who were at that Time Contractors, ruined the Republic. But the Kings of *France*, in a like Translation of Authority from the Nobility to the Parliament, rescued the Nation from that Barbarism and Ignorance which had been perpetually intailed upon it ; and there is not the least Apprehension that the Nobility, whatever Form of Government may prevail, will ever reclaim an Administration, of which they divested themselves by their Pride, Ignorance and Levity ; and which, were they re-invested with it, they would speedily abdicate again, from those very Principles which have ever tarnished the Brilliancy of their Character. Thus the *Gallic* Freedom is not to be corrupted by the excessive Disproportions betwixt the Nobility and Magistracy in *Germany*.

French Honour, that Honour so celebrated for its glorious Caprices and sublime Ardour, is in a more signal Manner an excellent Principle for a *Grecian* Freedom, such a Freedom as distinguished *Athens*. The *French* would be seen to return with Extasy to a *Liberty*, the Relish of which might have been lost for some Interval ; and with their Blood, of which they never were sparing, retrieve the Republic, which in the wild Jollity of a Festival had been forgotten.

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The Austerity of the *German* or Northern Discipline, has so dulled the quick Sense of Honour in the Soldier, that their Valour requires the Stimulation of spirituous Liquors; whereas the Gentleness of the Subordination in the *French* military Discipline, of which I have already taken Notice, is a Master-piece in the moral Kind, and may vie with the most commendable Effects of antient Polities. This Temper would undoubtedly spread itself in a Republic, and unite in a close Tie the patrician and plebeian Orders, through that of the Magistracy, as the Medium of such a happy Connection.

The *French*, indeed, have nothing of that Philosophy, which the *Grecian* Children sucked in at the Breast; but they richly compensate for those acquired Virtues, by a natural Frankness which was always very rare among the *Greeks*, as their own Historians confess. The History of *Greece* abounds with heroic Sallies, mixed with the foulest Treacheries; impious Adulations, amidst the most exalted Morality; and, in Conspiracies, they equalled the petty Republics of *Italy*,

Here that Levity, which is the Bane of a rising Republic, perpetually occurs, and seems to implore the Genius of Monarchy to restore its Stability and Repose. Three Vices, or rather three incurable Cancers, of as long a Standing as *France* itself, have preyed upon this noble Kingdom, from its Establishment down to the Reign of the *Valois*, and destroyed the admirable

admirable Effects of that enthusiastic Heroism which characterises the *French*. The domestic Vices are the Dissipation of public Monies, exorbitant Grants, and the Non-observance of the Laws, though these Laws would bear a Comparison with those of *Greece* in its most refined Ages. The Dissipation of public Monies is a Fact allowed by all the Historians of the Wars in *Italy*, of *Lewis XII.* *Charles VIII.* *Francis I.* and by all the eminent Ministers, as *Sully*, *Richelieu*, &c.

The *Valois*, without any Necessity, acted over again all the Profusions by which *Cæsar* and the Usurpers had overcome *Rome*. At one single Gift, this famous Person gave the Consul *Paulus* nine hundred thousand Crowns, and to *Curio*, though but a Tribune, fifteen hundred thousand: But this was easier among the *Romans*, who made a Prey of foreign Nations; *Cæsar*, and those other Usurpers, took great Care to bring the Treasure of the Vanquished to *Rome*: It was *Egyptian Gold* which raised the Price of Land, and lowered Usury: For so much as the seventh Part of the Land of a conquered People was confiscated. It is a general Remark of Historians, that the worst Emperors were the most liberal.

However, interior Oeconomy seldom fell into Disuse with the *Romans*; it always returned with the Tranquillity of the Empire. *Augustus* kept forty Legions in Pay for twelve Millions *per Annum*, though Provisions at that Time bore a high Price. This Prince, as
also

also *Severus* and *Antoninus*, lent the Treasury-Money to the People without any Interest; and the other Emperors lent it at five *per Cent.* In *Perſia*, where Luxury was carried to such an unbounded Excess, no Murmurs were heard among the People. The Tributes of all the Possessions of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, which were immense, did not exceed Fifty Millions in Cash, and some Curiosities.

The Grants of the *Valois* were enormous; yet *France*, under *Henry III.* did not exceed one twentieth Part of the *Roman Empire*. Under them it was, and by their Countenance, that the Genius of the Nation, being softened by the Introduction of Literature, turned itself to the Settlement and Cultivation of Manners; and, by a false Idea of the Sublime, ran into that capricious Lavishness and futile Splendor, from which it will never recover.

Under *Philip de Valois*, the *Italians*, apt Pupils of the *Jews*, who managed all the Tarifs of the East, brought in among us Lotteries, Games of Chance, and Revenue-Contracts; and, in a very few Years, improved two hundred and forty thousand Livres to twenty-four millions four hundred thousand Livres. In 1572, under a Combination of the most dreadful Distresses, Grants, exclusive of the Pensions, amounted to two millions seven hundred thousand Livres; a monstrous Sum in those Days and such Times!

Francis I. risen to be a great King, consequently parsimonious, likewise melancholy and rigid,

rigid, had borrowed and founded the *Lyons Bank* at eight per Cent. He left seventeen hundred thousand Crowns in the Exchequer, and *Lady-day-quarter* ready to be paid in: After his Death, the Fee of Offices, which even then amounted to a very considerable Sum, was bestowed upon one Person.

But *Henry II.* his Son, owed more for bare Interest, than the Amount of the whole Expenditure of his Ancestors. *Francis II.* found himself incumbered with a Debt of forty one Millions, three hundred thousand Livres; but *Henry III.* exceeded all the former Dissipations. They had begun under *Charles VIII.* and *France* very wisely completed her Ruin at the very Time, when Women began to have Sway at Court, and direct the Administration.

France has seen herself under Ministers, not inferior to those of the wisest Monarchies, no, not to the solid and comprehensive Prudence of *Spain*. But the Ministry, perpetually diverted by foreign Enterprizes, has never been able to give a sufficient Attention to domestic Concerns, nor oppose the Genius of the Nation with any Effect: whereas, an *English* Ministry is too much taken up with domestic Concerns, to make the King triumph abroad.

Let us now apply these Facts to the Hypothesis, on which we set out; it is certain that the characteristic Qualities of the *French* Temper are exactly such as are incompatible with a Republican Constitution, but also 'tis for such Morals, that a Republic is peculiarly furnished

with the best Specifics : So that this Question relating to a *French* Republic will admit of this Solution ; either within a Century the Republican Constitution would eliminate all the peccant Humours from the *French* Heart and Mind, or upon Failure of this Trial, the Nation must be owned incapable of governing itself.

Possibly it is the Conversation of Women which renders the *French* so deficient in that Philosophy or Fortitude, that Oeconomy, that Gravity, which are the Bases of a Republic ; and perhaps the *Greeks* themselves would have forgot their highly prized Liberty in this delightful and natural Servitude. It has been said, *No Monarchy without a Nobility* : To which I make bold to add, *No Republic with Women*.

If it be so, and that the *Frenchman*, governing himself, would raise the most dangerous Storms, yet is it undeniable that he is preferable to any Nation in the whole World for a secondary Part. He could hardly bring himself to execute his own Laws ; the Jealousy of the *German* Constitution, the Strictness of the *English*, and the Singularity of the *Venetian*, would be insupportable to him. I do not account him to be called to the universal System of Commerce, like *England* and *Holland* ; nor to universal Dominion, like the *Romans* ; nor to the Observation of Rites and Laws, like the *Chinese* and the *Antients* ; but for the subordinate Parts of Government, no Nation can match

match him : In him we find inconceivable Activity, inimitable Address in Execution, Resources ever ready, alert Courage, an Impetuosity or rather a Flame, at once seizing all Objects ; political Intrigues and Insinuations, an ingenious and learned Legislation to be ranked with that of the *Greeks* and all the *Antients* ; and with all these Talents a most winning Art of pleasing, to secure their Success to the Advantage of the State.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the different Governments with respect to Virtues and Talents.

IDISTINGUISH three principal Forms of Government.

The first is a Monarchy, corrected by a Senate, not entirely made up of *Patricians*, but consisting of Lords, and Magistrates or Deputies of the second Order, such as the Commons, as their Station and Manners render them an Equipoise for the Interest of the People. Such is the *English* Government, and that of *Sweden*, since the death of *Charles XII*.

The second is a Monarchy tempered chiefly by Manners ; the Prerogative being not limited by Laws, nor to be check'd by Magistrates.

The third Kind is the Republican Government, which consists of the great Men of the Country, or the most substantial Citizens, together with the People : But here I do not intend any Reflections on any Forms of Government

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ment essentially faulty, as those of the eastern Nations, or a pure Democracy.

Next, I distinguish the Genius of Arts, the Talents of another Kind, and lastly, moral Virtues; and in Morality, those Virtues which centre in Self, and those which extend to Others. I also compare in a certain Degree *England*, and such Kind of Monarchies, with Republics.

Though the Arts and moral Virtues in general, may subsist, and in an eminent Degree under the first Form of Government, yet for the highest Perfection of the Arts that administer to Pleasure and Luxury, there is a more precise Epocha. The *Apogeeum* of this Disposition I place on the Transit of a Nation in the very Instant when its Liberty is swallowed up by Regal Authority, or impaired by the Administration of some extraordinary Subject.

In order to this Change, the Morals were to be prepared and softened, yet without a total Enervation, some Remains of antient Liberty being supposed still to exist. The democratic State ever communicates to its Members something of that Roughness which is the natural Fence of Freedom and Pudicity. It was at such an Epocha that all the Roughness of the *Latin* Poesy entirely disappeared. *Horace*, living in the new formed Court, struck into delicate Strains, which the former *Roman* Gravity had no Idea of. A Court is the Place for Works of Taste; a Republican Council is sownered and distracted with Party Conspiracies and

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Factions: The Spirit of Courts is supple, delicate and polite; the new Sovereign is communicative, flatters and rewards. With these Arts was *Athens* peculiarly adorned under *Pericles*. *Ovid* carried his Innovations on the *Roman Genius* further than *Horace*, and the Court was running into Gallantry, when the Accession of *Tiberius* check'd the sprightly Career, and all the Wits were at once struck dumb. Free Citizens, on the contrary, seeing no Charms but in their Country, emulously devote and improve their Capacities for its Service; and the few who have a Turn only for Entertainment, are held in contempt: whereas in the abovementioned Epoch, the Productions of Taste partake of Republican Energy and the Urbanity of a Court.

'Tis then at such an Epocha that great Poets, exquisite Painters, and enchanting Musicians arise. *Corneille* lived at a Time when the *French Monarchy* was only beginning to gather Strength, after being brought low by violent Divisions; and accordingly much of the antient Idiom is seen in him, which yet often gives him an Air of Freedom and original Simplicity, and even something more natural than in *Racine*: Let me not be thought to mean in Sentiments, but in the Choice and Use of Terms; the latter not flourishing till after a Change in Manners and Usages had introduced new Forms, circumscribed Colloquies within the strictest Rules of Decency, and given a fresh Polish to the Mind. *Ximenes* and *Rodrigo*,

O *Emilia*
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Emilia and *Cinna*, *Curiatius* and *Camilla*, Thee and Thou'd one another, and conversed with all the Openness and Familiarity of plain-dealing Lovers.

The League Storm had not been long blown over, when *Corneille* gave himself up to the Muses. Plots were still daily forming against the Ministry. The Power of the Lords in their Governments was very considerable. The domestic Troubles which broke out at *Paris*, were then visibly in Agitation. The Poet, struck with all these Motions, enriched the Scene with political Subjects: *Cæsar* in the midst of Commotions at *Alexandria*; *Pompey* Prisoner at the Court of *Ptolomy*, and the Council determining his Fate; *Cinna* conspiring against *Augustus*; *Cleopatra* contriving the Death of her own Sons; and *Sertorius* murthered by his Lieutenant. The Language at that Time was already reduced to more fixed Rules, its antient Force and Simplicity still subsisting; and had *Corneille* kept as close to Nature in his Sentiments as in his Diction, none could offer to dispute the Bays with him.

As the last Reason, let it be further observed, that such a political Change of the State, as we have taken for this Epocha, never comes to pass but by a Confluence of happy Circumstances, or is reserved for those distinguished Princes, whose good Fortune and eminent Qualities dazzle the People. It is the Thought of a celebrated Author, that *Scipio* polished the *Romans*, at the same time he gave them the first Knowledge of personal Attachment: And an

Histo-

Historian observes, that it was the long Reign of *Augustus*, together with his singular good Fortune, whereby the *Romans* became habituated to Obedience; and the Destiny of Arts is known greatly to depend on the Countenance of the Sovereign, and the Prosperity of the State, which influencing every well disposed Mind, gives the Serenity, and invites to the Leisure which is so necessary to delicate and finished Pieces.

Thus, in the aforementioned Epocha, the tragic Genius is not debarred a proper Range; whilst on the other Hand, the Temper of the Court excites, encourages and caresses musical Poetry, Decorations and Entertainments, and every Art subservient to Luxury and Pleasure.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the serious Arts.

THE Character of the different Governments is visibly inscribed on the Architecture of Republics, and that of Kings, and more especially despotic Princes. In Monuments of Splendor and Vanity, despotic Monarchies surpass Republics: Omitting *Solomon's* Magnificence, among other Works of the Kings of *Egypt* are the Pyramids, which we still view with Wonder. *Nero* raised Structures, and gave Shews, becoming all the Majesty of the Empire. The Emperors strove who should surpass in embellishing their capital with Circuses, Theatres, Gardens, Water-works, Baths,

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and Colonnades, which the Parsimony of a Republic would have accounted as so many useless Expences, or at least would not have executed them with equal Stateliness. *Constantine* by his new City raised the Jealousy of *Rome*. It was under its Sovereigns that *Italy* saw itself every where adorned with such a Multitude of Churches, Palaces, and other Master-Pieces of Architecture, as gained it the Name of modern *Greece*; but which in a Republic would have offended the public Eye, as dangerous to Equality, and promotive of profuse Emulations. Antient *Perſia*, besides its stupendous *Perſepolis*, had a great Number of noble Works of Art: And *Babylon*, which might have done Honour to *Greece*; these were all monarchical. Whereas a Republic, being more grave and thrifty, confines its Magnificence only to Market-places, Arsenals, Store-houses, Aqueducts, Halls and Churches. It is sparing both of the Labour and Money of its Members, both which are of small Account with a Sovereign. The Architecture of modern Republics is plain in its Grandeur; that of the eastern Monarchs is fantastically superb.

If from Architecture we take a View of Eloquence and History, these more particularly belong to a Republic; they are as it were its natural Organs: And it must be through some Accident, if these Talents fail to concur in the highest Degree at that Time when any Government, especially the Republican, is in its full Vigour, and a Spirit of Virtue prevails.

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In a Republic there is also a greater Compass of Judgment ; the People are infinitely better trained up to Knowledge ; a single Republican Citizen often uniting in himself different Professions, on one of which our People are seen not a little to value themselves. He who wonders at this is a Stranger to the Spirit of Liberty. In free States Geniuses of all Kinds have Employment ; they are also better peopled, their Polity exerting itself principally to encrease the Children of the State. Fecundity had no inconsiderable Privileges annexed to it among the *Romans* ; Celibacy also among them was subject to Penalties, but these the Christian Emperors abrogated. The greatest Honour of a *Grecian* Family was a numerous Issue, for whom, in such a Beehive as a free State, it is not difficult to provide : But Monarchies usually countenance that Kind of sterile Philosophy, which renounces Marriage to avoid the Trouble of a Family ; Men make themselves Amends for the Deprivation of public Liberty in the Freedom and Tranquillity of a retired, disengaged Life. Accordingly this Humour of Celibacy took Place exactly at the Height of the Sovereignty of *Augustus*, and every where is found to spread according to the Declension of Liberty and the Rigour of the Government. Thus every Subject in a free State being employed, Talents may be said to be tripled, computing the Works and the Men.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Of political Qualities, and those moral Virtues
which relate to the Interior of a State.*

IT is evident from immemorial Experience, that a free State generally makes Choice of Persons eminent in the Senate or Army, to preside at the Helm, and conduct the public Affairs. The Commonalty have ever had the Character of being admirable in chusing, but far otherwise in acting. 'Tis only Merit, or at least the Mask of splendid Virtues, which can insinuate themselves into their Esteem. The *Attic* Inconstancy and Liberty were to be fixed only by *Pericles*, and such extraordinary Personages. The Republics of Antiquity have equalled the Duration of Monarchies, the popular Ministry being never wholly corrupted, nor does the Genius of the Multitude form Villains, much less reward them, when found to be such; but only, unknowingly, cherishes Tyrants in its Bosom.

It must be owned that a Republic naturally produces a greater Number of extraordinary Personages than an absolute Monarchy. Courage is general among the Citizens who are all Soldiers, as once at *Rome*, and now in *England*, which is an inexhaustible Resource for the Military: Further, the Love of one's Country in a noble Spirit kindles into an Enthusiasm; and not less spirited is the Love of Liberty among a People, who, by Enjoyment, are able to estimate its Benefits.

Benefits. In Heroes, this Motive is no other than the most lawful and effulgent Glory, and consequently forms an exquisite Sentiment in their Heart ; in the People 'tis a Beam of Light, irradiating the Instinct of Self-preservation.

Under the Extinction of Liberty, a View to the Imperial Throne was certainly what upheld the military Virtues to the End, as it became frequently their Reward ; otherwise the great Men, like the Eastern Monarchs, would infallibly have slumbered away their indolent Hours amidst the Delights of their Palaces : The Noise of the Barbarians would not have rouzed them ; for with these the latter Emperors soon clapped up a Peace, which was easy to be procured, as those rude People only required Provisions.

The Example of the *Greeks* and *Romans* will throw an additional Light on these Reflections. Honours, Titles, and large Governments, were the Rewards which *Persia* distributed ; republican Citizens gloriéd in the Decoration of an Olive-leaf. *Greece*, it is true, underwent some Revolutions and domestic Concussions ; but, amidst all the Troubles inseparable from a Republic, in one Thing is the Genius of the People inflexibly fixed, and that is, the Love of Liberty ; besides Patriots, who step forth upon any Extremity, determined to devote themselves for their Country ; of which glorious Temper a Republic has ever been a fruitful Nursery. Now, these Kinds of Self-sacrifices, of which the *Roman* History particularly gives

us Instances, require a strong Agitation of Mind, and an inflamed Imagination ; and that this Impression can be so forcibly made by Attachment to a Sovereign, or Veneration for an absolute Power, as by an Idea of Liberty and public Love, seems to me very unlikely. As to the Instances, in Oriental History, of Subjects giving up their Lives to the Humour of a Prince ; besides, the Paucity of them, in Comparison of the Republican Victims, the Impulse being no more than a servile Superstition, they very seldom are to be met with in Occasions of public Welfare, which alone has a Right to the Life of a Man of Virtue.

It has been the Assertion of many Authors, that in Monarchies there is no such thing as *Country*, nor properly Virtue ; I mean that public Virtue, of which the Love and Welfare of the State are the Object : But to this Censure *France* is an Exception in the first Place ; and even the *Germans*, if they have no particular, yet, in the Constitution and common Centre of the Empire, they have a general Country ; but nothing of this Kind comes up to the Resources of the republican Genius. If this has been exaggerated, yet certain it is, that among all the Emigrants into a foreign Country, perhaps there was not one whose Heart did not bleed at his Departure.

It has been very seldom seen, that any illustrious Republicans have gone about to subjugate their Country to themselves or to their Descendants ; I say, *illustrious Republicans* : For the

the Oppression of a few Villains was soon brought to a Period, and did not proceed from a popular Government. The Return of republican Impressions is not unlike elastic Springs, which after a Compression immediately recover themselves. *Cæsar* experienced this, though at a Time when the republican Spirit was greatly relaxed ; as Cardinal *de Retz* expresses it, *whilst the Tyrant sleeps, the Laws wake* ; the People own them, and Deliverers and Avengers arise.

Thus all these Resources concur to support the Virtues and the true Genius in a Republic, which, besides, is no other than a Society always assembled. Kingdoms, on the contrary, would be subject to great Variations in Maxims and Manners, if there were no Assemblies constituted to fix the antient Spirit of the State, and collect it in the Archives. These Companies superintend the public Morality of Marriages, of Church-Discipline, &c. and introduce us to the Sovereign, by laying our Petitions at the Foot of the Throne. Abolish them, and the People, habituated to think by their Prescriptions, will be destitute of any stated Maxims. A People under a Sovereign, for want of Direction from the Assemblies, keep its Eyes fixed on the Parliaments, as watching over the fundamental Maxims of the State, of which, in this Kingdom, under the royal Authority and Permission, it is still the Depository.

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As a Supply for any Deficiency of Virtue, a certain Opinion, to which the Name of *Honour* has been given, a certain public Law or Claim has got Footing in the *European* Monarchies, and among the Body of the Nobility. The true Origin of the Superiority of the modern Nobility above that of the Antients, must carefully be observed, and consists in that the Defence of the State now rests intirely on the Nobility; whereas, among the Antients, every Citizen shared in it. It was upon this Notion of Pre-eminence and Superiority, that the Nobility invested themselves with this same *Honour*, as their peculiar moral Character: A blustering capricious Virtue, fitter for romantic Feats of Arms than true Heroism.

It appears to me, that the greatest Things have been atchieved by four chief Principles or Causes; the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, together with that of the antient Monarchies; the *Roman* Reputation, *Grecian* Liberty, and *European* Hononr; that is, the Title of Gentleman, and of Knight, in *Europe*; or, in other Words, the Valour of the *Europeans*, the Wisdom of the Legislators of remote Antiquity, *Roman* Virtue, and *Grecian* Enthusiasm.

In fine, to proceed to the last Kind of Virtues which concern the Interior of a State, I shall call them private or domestic Virtues. Now, nothing is more certain, than that these are peculiarly cherished in a republican Form. Monarchies fall extremely below Republics in Laboriousness, Sobriety, Temperance, Chastity

in Marriages, the Order of Families, to use the antient Term *Larium sanctitate*. For Instance, the Censorship, an equivalent Magistracy, established in Republics, indicates a Correctness of Morals, which Monarchy does not aim at. In a free State the People are the ruling Part, and in Morality they are always more regular and moderate than the Nobility: Befides that, in large Monarchies, the Disparity of Fortunes renders Luxury necessary.

However, when I say that in these Points a Republic excels a Monarchy, it is always to be meant proportionably to the Extent of the respective States; this Extent necessarily affecting the Maintenance of Polity, this Deduction must be reasonably made; and for Instance, the *Athenians* be looked upon as of a Nature more liable to be corrupted than ours; since, though living in a Republic, and in a Republic which would not have made a Corner of the Kingdom of *France*, they totally degenerated from their antient Virtues.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Virtues relating to Foreigners.

THESE, it will be no Impropriety to term the *Foreign Virtues*, as intimately connected with the Law of Nations; of these, the chief are, Clemency after Victory, Observance of Treaties, and Purity of State Maxims.

These Republicans, and merely as such, were perhaps not less corrupted; their Wars being

being more sanguinary, and the Love of their Country more blind and impetuous: it may even be affirmed, upon a Comparison of the Bulks of the Antients and Moderns, that the Politics of the Cabinet are more sound and equitable than that of Antiquity. Here I ground my Assertion on the Immutability of the Limits of modern Nations. The Forms of Monarchies and States are at present much more solid and permanent; and they have left off the Custom of planting Colonies in new Conquests that lie at no great Distance. Besides, whatever has been advanced on the Impossibility of a Balance of Power among the States of *Europe*, who, with his Eyes open, does not see we come infinitely nearer to it, than ever the Antients did?

First, the generality of the *European* Nations are much more equal to each other; not only in Courage and Discipline, but also in Seamanship, and the Arts necessary to a State, than the Antients appear to have been. What were the Nations, in the Time of the *Greeks*, but rude Barbarians! and among the *Greeks*, what Difference! And this Difference was more glaring in the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, than in the rest of *Greece*. Moreover, they were divided into such small Republics, that one unfortunate Event, the Loss of a single Battle, reduced them to Extremities. They were surrounded by the King of *Perſia*, who easily practised upon Cities filled with Jealousies and Dissentions, and always contriving to mortify the most eminent

nent Citizens. The *Romans* never would have mastered *Greece*, had they not prepared the Way, by sowing Dissentions among them; they had besides to do with two Kinds of Enemies; the first, who were *Asiatics*, were already weakened to their Hand; their Monarchies were too far reduced to support the Balance of Nations.

The Barbarians were the second Enemies of the *Romans*: but how could a fickle, unsettled People, without Character, without any State Maximis, uphold that Equilibre which depends on fixed Views of Politics, and a steady Prosecution of Discipline? If they were not intirely subjected by the *Romans*, it was owing to their inaccessible Deserts and Marshes, whither they retreated till Hunger spurr'd them on to renew their Excursions.

That mighty Empire itself was little able to preserve its own Balance. The Generals and Governors of Provinces, by their frequent Revolts at the Extremities of the Empire, rendered the Flame of civil War inextinguishable. The new *Augusti*, to secure themselves in the Empire, did not stick to sacrifice to their Suspicions the most eminent in the Army and Senate. It is certain that Measures of a certain Elevation, and human Politics, were not practicable while there was no such Thing as an Equilibrium; but on the contrary, perpetual Revolutions, Settlements difficult to be maintained, Barbarians to grapple with, and *Asiatics*, of whom the *Romans* had a Contempt, which they carried to Severity.

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In this Judgment are not to be included the first Ages of the *Roman* Republic, it was to the Reputation of their Virtues, and to the Reports which Fame had every where spread of their military Atchievements, that the *Romans* owed the Oversight of Kings and Nations in solliciting their Alliance, and imploring their Assistance: This is the most glorious Monument of antient History. The *Romans*, a Nation of the other Day, in Comparison of the *Greeks*, carried the Knowledge of the Law of Nations to a Degree which, the Difference of Times considered, has perhaps not been surpassed by Moderns. In the Usurpation of *Greece* one may see those precious Remains of *Roman* Generosity: They were no Strangers to the regular Use of Embassies, nor even to those unequal Alliances betwixt the *Roman* People and Sovereigns, which was so well expressed by the famous Clause, *Majestatem Populi Romani comiter colant*, and which, by their Conformity with the Condition of the antient Fiefs and Vassals, were a Check upon Cruelty, and prevented the Destruction of a whole People.

It was not only in the Conquest of *Greece*, but in the Affairs of the *Numantines*, that the Senate, though then sinking into Corruption, passed a Vote, the Intrepidity of which would have done Honour to the early Ages: The political Virtues, indeed, for some time survived the Extinction of the moral and interior Virtues. A Dignity in foreign Affairs long hindered neighbouring Nations from perceiving the

the Weakness of the Government, and the Vices of its Members: And such was the *Roman* Artifice herein, that at the Height of Profligacy and Flagitiousness, they procured very pompous Addresses or Panegyrics on the *Roman* Name.

C H A P. XX.

The Sequel.

AFew particular Instances amongst the *Romans* and *Greeks* of the finer Ages, does not invalidate the Superiority of modern Politics. On some Emergencies, the Virtue of Antiquity may have taken such noble Flights: but our Foundations are immovable, bearing upon the Essence of Things, and the Designations of unadulterated Nature.

Kingdoms were disposed of by Will; Kings named their Heirs; and sometimes the *Romans* antecedently appointed them, by taking them under their Protection: But such Adoptions overthrew all the Solidity of Successions. Wars ended in the Transplantation of the People, the Demolition of the Walls and Harbours. Not only the Princes Ships and Treasures were delivered up, but often the whole Nation was laid under Servitude.

The Art of Negotiations was then but little understood; Menaces, Obstinacy, bribing Ministers and Subjects, fomenting Seditions were the Measure of those coarse Times; nothing less than utter Destruction was on all Sides threatened and endeavoured: Whereas, in our

Days, even in the very Declarations of War, their Thoughts are turned on Peace, and the Means of restoring it.

I am still less pleased with the *Hebrews*, *Carthaginians*, and the primitive Nations, whose History, notwithstanding the Simplicity of the heroic Times, is one continued Scene of Violence and Blood-shed.

In the first Ages of the Inundations of Adventurers from the North, *Germany*, and the *Celtic Gaul*, the Barbarism of the Time, the gross Ignorance and Rusticity of Men, and the ridiculous Laws of Successions, revived the ancient Cruelties. Bastards and younger Brothers confounded the whole Order of Successions. Kingdoms were parcelled out. Associations in the Throne had been the Resource of a preposterous Policy. Queens frequently violated the Marriage-Bed, Sovereign Princesses were carried off; the Lords of Fiefs, and powerful Vassals filled *Europe* with Wars, and trampled upon all public Law and Right. The Nobility was sincere, credulous and devout, but apt to revolt, and not duly aware of Usurpations, the Sword being never out of their Hand. Ecclesiastical Authority, in the mean Time, was making so rapid a Progress as to alarm the State. *Lewis the Stammerer*, and his Successors, were obliged to weaken the Prerogative of the Crown, by the Dismemberment of many Fiefs and Peerages. No Times afforded so many Donations to the Churches; nor in any Times were the Possessors of such Wealth more liable to be molested.

lested. Let us now take a View of the Alterations which modern Policy has brought on the *European* Dominions.

C H A P. XXI.

Of Alterations occasioned by modern Policy, and its Characteristics.

THE Barbarians soon turned their victorious Arms against themselves. *Europe*, by all Appearances, seemed on the Brink of Destruction; yet in the midst of all these Convulsions and Devastations, they saved the *Sacred Fire*, *Liberty*. I again repeat it, by none has the Dignity of Man been better understood, nor better displayed, than by those *European* People, on whom we bestow the Appellation of Barbarians. The Ignorance and Roughness of our Ancestors did not render them incapable of forming right Notions of Man. The Conditions they imposed on the Conquered, included nothing of what may properly be called Servitude; they reached no further than Acknowledgements, Tributes and Homage: whereas, the Orientals, in their most refined Politeness, in all the Perfection of Arts, were always outrageously cruel to the Vanquished, inflicted the severest Punishments on Cities that stood a Siege, at the same Time submitting to a formal Idolatry towards their Sovereigns. The *Greeks* themselves are not to be justified on this Head. *Troy* was anathematized by *Agamemnon*; and this Custom, which lasted to later Ages, left the

Conquered nothing to expect but the cruelest Fate, which, in Effect, they seldom or ever escaped.

On the contrary, no sooner were the northern People of *Europe* seated in fixed Settlements, than they entered into Associations against the *Normans* in favour of the Churches, the Security of the Roads, and particularly of the Honour of the Ladies. Military Proceedings improved apace; we were in a most rough-hewn Condition, when the Count *de Dunois*, and the Chevalier *Bayard*, performed such Actions as rivalled the Bravery and Generosity of *Scipio*. Nothing is more singular, nor bears a more genuine Stamp of remote Antiquity and the Ages of Hospitality, than that Fidelity of a Knight, so universally famous. The Plainness of the Dialect was adapted to the Sincerity of the Heroes; and in the History of our Origins are to be found Passages no less tender than any in the Traditions of the first Ages. In fine, this Idea of the Dignity and natural Equality of Man, in some Measure innate among those Nations of *Europe*, most distinguished for Bravery and Freedom, has been carried to the utmost Degree possible among Men, who ever will be incurably unjust and ambitious.

From Wars, and the perpetual Contentions of the Wits, which every Day became more subtilized, the Art of Politics was seen to arise under the Disguise and Discipline of the *Italic* Genius. That People, naturally subtile, in-

sinuating, and adulatory, wearied out with the Dissentions of their Country, ever in Slavery or in dread of foreign Masters, revived the Policy of the *Greeks*, and not without considerable Improvements of their own. By them the Use of Embassies was rendered common; they first struck out the Equilibre, and supported these political Inventions with all the Craft of the negotiatory Science.

According to their Temper in all Things, they carried this Matter too far; and to Politics, which at first they made no more than Farce or Entertainment, they came to apply the Mask of Virtue: Their Historians spent themselves in Argumentations on this Science, as if systematical and demonstrable by invariable Principles. This was a Mistake; and very often the *French* Minister, who gracefully gave himself up to his Hilarity, to Women and the Pleasures of foreign Courts, got the better of the speculative *Italian*, collected in all his Flegm.

Thus they adulterated the Art which they professed, the true and solid Management of Negotiations, by the Spurious of their fine spun Policy, which at first gave them a great Advantage over the *French*. They corrupted the Genius of the *Spaniards*, and of the House of *Austria*, the Reigns of *Francis* the Second, *Charles* IX. the Minority of *Lewis* XIII. and *Lewis* XIV. The Name of Politicians was given them, as a Distinction they too well deserved, because like the *Greeks*, they distracted all

Courts with Intrigues, Machinations, Artifices, and Bustle, and were for a Time an Overmatch in Treaties for any of their Neighbours. However, in the midst of its Radiancy, the Reputation of *Italy* was on a sudden eclipsed, and all the Nations of *Europe* exclaimed against its Policy; she saw them refine the Art which they had received from her own Hands, and a better digested Policy became the Principle of Peace and the Cement of the Reconciliation of Princes. Thus the Immutability of modern Thrones, the good Laws of Successions, the Progresses of Religion, the Revival of Literature, the Knowledge of the Interest of Princes till these later Times, without Suppuration, Contrivance and Relatives, were so many happy Evidencies that an infinitely more humane Policy had taken Place.

Amidst our Advantages over the Antients, the characterising Virtue of our Age will doubtless be this Humanization of the Manners. The Mildness of the Antients seems to have resided more in their Minds than in their Hearts. The *Greeks* had a Delicacy, a Subtilness of Mind which, like those of the *Italians*, did not always reach the Heart: Under all the Graces and Politeness of *Athens*, I perceive a Harshness very different from our Procedures. The *Numidians* had surrendered at Discretion, and yet *Cæsar* ordered them to be put to the Sword; it was the *Roman* Custom to put to Death the Enemy's Chief, unless he was a King: This Severity is acknowledged by *Cicero*.

Cicero. *Titus* himself made a Shew of the Women and Children of *Jerusalem*, ordering them to be expos'd to wild Beasts ; the *Samnites* were massacred by *Sylla*'s Command : The very *Chinese*, of whom so much Good has been said, are known to throw to the wild Beasts such Children as they can't maintain.

Some scattered Passages are related of *Demetrius*, *Cyrus*, *Philip*, *Alexander*, *Ptolomy*, and the *Athenians* : But in our Days War is corrected by a Law of Nations, an established, connected Method, nothing of which is to be seen in Antiquity, the *Scipio*'s and a few *Romans* and *Athenians* excepted. These Maxims are of constant and inviolable Observances, among the Chiefs of all Sides ; the very Soldiers are restrained by them : This is one of the amiable Effects of Religion ; it is a salutary Consequence of that Spirit of Knighthood, which spread through all the Nations of *Europe*, and which gave Rise to those antient Confederacies of the Nobility against the Cruelties of War. Moreover, the Politeness, the Spirit of Society, which obtains all over *Europe*, and of which Women are the indissoluble Tye, secures the Gentleness of our Morals, amidst all Revolutions, and is one of the most valuable Compensations which the Moderns could have procured for themselves, after the Alterations of the Manners of the Antients, occasioned by the Destruction of their Republics.

It is then undeniable, that in the foreign Virtues we surpass most of the antient Nations; that on this Head there is nothing sufficiently determinate among the Greeks, to come in Competition with us; that we have equaled the *Roman Republic*; and manifestly excelled the Empire.

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THE S P I R I T O F N A T I O N S.

P A R T II. B O O K IV.

Of R E L I G I O N.

C H A P. I.

Of the Origin of Fables.

OF all the several Causes which give the Turn to our Morals, next to Education, Religion is of the most powerful Influence. Poets were the first Divines, Historians and Philosophers. Thus, in the first Ages, we find all the Marks of Ignorance, but of an agreeable Ignorance; Philosophy was then but in Embryo; and not only physical, but the historical and moral Truths were not brought to Light. History was confined to a

few Facts, which were only the most memorable Actions of Heroes; and some general Sentences and Maxims made up their Morality: But these being palpable and relative to Sensation, as such, were susceptible of the Ornaments of Poetry, which, by the *Marvellous* of its Fictions, seduced the Senses, and seized upon Religion and the Sciences.

Poetry was naturally the Milk of the infant World. The Primeval Race, born in Climates under the Predominancy of Imagination, and tutored by the Poets, committed the Tenets of Religion, the Discoveries of Philosophy, and the Truths of History, to Fictions; many of which had not even an Appearance of Probability, but Similitude. All the while, this Kind of Instruction was perpetually confounded; Physics with Divinity, Fable with History, and the poetical and natural Deities with the true Supreme Being. *Plato* himself offers a Symbol; but so far from being adapted to the People, that, to this Day, it puts the Learned even of our enlightened Age to a Stand. When he speaks of allegorical Deities, and with his imitable Graces relates the Genealogy of Love, he is clear and open to the Understanding; but neither in him nor the other Antients, is the only true supreme Good easily distinguished from the physical or historical Deities: Thus Fable, under the Sanction of Authority, has been disseminated among all Nations, and mixed with the first Elements of human

human Knowledge. The Origine is assignable to several Causes.

First, to a Fondness for perpetuating great Actions ; the Panegyric of Heroes, which in those unpolished Times was left to young Persons ; the Ignorance of Travellers ; the inaccurate Relations of Merchants ; Painters executing poetical Chimeras ; an Ignorance of natural Philosophy and Geometry ; the Settlement of Colonies ; a vain Desire of having Gods for Ancestors ; the Love of Fathers for their Children : Lastly, a corrupt Idea of the Deity, and of the Remains of the original Traditions. The Consequence of the Ignorance of Facts and natural Philosophy might have been rectified by Metaphysics : 'Tis the Business of this Science, but it was not then known.

Thus was the East born and nurtured in Fables, and in them continues still immersed ; and the Records of Antiquity being in the Hands of jealous, lying and ostentatious Nations, the Obscurity of antient History is little to be wondered at.

Could it be imagined that Nations should wrangle about the Invention of Fables ! yet a strongly marked Spleen runs through all the Greek Authors against the *Phenicians* and *Egyptians*, on this frivolous Point : Nay, the World was no sooner in Being, than we find Disputes on the Quality of the eldest Son of the Earth. This properly constitutes the Nobility of Nations ; private Persons carried their Pride no farther than to claim a Descent from

the Gods. Grandson of *Mars*, *Neptune's* Nephew, Son of a River or of a Goddess; all these different Titles were not indiscriminate; but, with the Vulgar, were equal to Prince, Duke, and Marquis among us.

Our Barbarians shewed more Sense than all of them: With these the Origine and Right of Nobility was Victory: The two Titles of *Conqueror* and *Conquered*, were all they knew of; so little Account did they make of those ridiculous Genealogies, in which the *Greeks* and *Orientals* busied themselves.

If Poets delivered the first Lessons to Mankind, it was not long before it fell under a very different Kind of Preceptors, the Priests; for, as the former had concealed nothing, but, according to the Levity of the Art, had profusely retailed a Compound of Falshood and Truth; the latter being of a gloomy despotic Cast, introduced Reservations, and veiled not only Theology, but even History and necessary Morality, under Emblems, Allegories, and inexplicable Cyphers; themselves keeping the Keys, as the authorized Depositories of History, Physic and Religion. It was full thirty Ages before Philosophers appeared to throw open the Gates of Science.

What Progresses Mankind could make under two such Kinds of Instructors, either futile or tenacious, may easily be imagined; and accordingly a false disgraceful Idea of the Deity obtained every where.

C H A P. II.

Of the antient Ideas of the Deity.

IT was the glorious Work of the Creator, the Beauty of the heavenly Bodies, and the pompous Spectacle of the Universe, which first occasioned the Lapse of those who had departed from the true Principles. Antient Tradition, for a while, repelled the new Fictions, and Simplicity in Sacrifices still maintained its Ground some Time. The Altars were of Turff, and the Temples without Images : But fabulous Humour coming into Vogue, a Love of the *Marvellous*, the Fascinations of Poetry and Fictions, an Impossibility of examining antient Traditions, even the natural Respect for Antiquity, absolutely erased all Vestiges of the patriarchal Religion. Then every thing was admitted ; divine Worship shot out into an infinite Number of Branches, and every Place was stocked with Deities.

There is even here something peculiar to the Oriental Genius ; which, without some foreign Assistance, would of itself have been scarce able to have kept to the simple Idea of one incorporeal God.

Idolatry also was considerably propagated by Astronomy, which took its Rise in the hot Climates. The most antient Observations handed down to us were made at *Babylon*, in *Chaldea*, and towards those Boundaries of *Persia*, where the Worship of the Sun, though of such

such remote Establishment, still subsists in an absurd Splendor.

Thus the foreign Religions, professed in ancient *Asia*, were infinitely more alluring to the Senses than the true Worship. A Deity invisible, or who seldom removed the Clouds which environed his Majesty, was all the latter offered to the Mind; whilist the others directed the Eye to the most effulgent Objects, the Sun, and all the Host of Heaven. To this it is owing, that the Barbarians were not such Bigots in Idolatry, but lent a docile Ear to the Voice of the Charmer: As their Ties to Idolatry were not so sensible, they were the more easily detached from it.

The antient People in the North, living in severe Climates, were unacquainted with azure Skies, blooming Mountains, and the various Luxuriancies of a sunny Country, which induced the *Greeks* and *Orientals* to worship with such Solemnity these benign Deities; these could not cast their Eyes on a River or a Lake, or enter a Wood, but they fancied to see *Naiades* and *Hamadryades*. The Idea of Society, and a Propensity thereto, are natural to Man. The first Inhabitants of the World readily believed that they were to be Companions for the Gods, to form Friendships, and unite in Marriages and Hospitality, and make Entertainments with them. In these Views it was, that the solemn Banquet, a Part of the Victim, was reserved as a Portion consecrated to the Gods, who, as the People were made to

to believe, came in Person and took it away, when it all went to regale the Priests.

On the contrary, the Barbarians of *Europe*, especially those of *America*, brought up in Ignorance and Fear, had no Notion of such a Familiarity with the Gods, nor would they have presumed to look so high; their Circumspection being, according to all Accounts, such as not to take one Step in the Dark. But the antient People of the East, less rude than those of the North, and whose Tempers soon led them to the settling of Societies, could not bear the Thoughts of a solitary saturnine God, with whom no Intercourse or Sociableness was to be had. Next to sovereign Love, of all our Dispositions, that of Society is the strongest. This was, doubtless, one of the principal Causes of Idolatry, and the most repugnant to the *Jewish* Religion, which represents God as just, austere and retired.

Besides, the first Men, leading a rustic Life, the Improvement of Soils their chief Care, and Husbandry their only Science, had nothing of that Strength of Mind, which, disdaining to be softened by Traditions, brings the different Ideas of the Divinity to a Sect. On the other Hand, this Examination was as far out of the Verge of the antient northern People; they being taken up with Wars, Incursions and Ravages.

In fine, the Ambiguities of Expression, and the poetical Modes, which were familiar to such extravagant Geniuses as those of the East,

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exceedingly multiplied the Number of Gods. It is a very just Remark of a learned Man, that the Style of *Children of the Gods* was promiscuously conferred upon all Imitators of fine Actions, or on such as were found exposed in Temples and sacred Groves; on those also who distinguished themselves by naval Exploits, or who landed in unknown Countries, like the *Egeopes*, the *Barbarians*, or like *Polyphebus*. They, who in their Character had an Affinity with that of the Gods, bore the same respectable Epithet; as, he who excelled in Cunning, was the Son of *Mercury*; *Mars* was the Father of *Theseus*, *Oenomaus* and *Romulus*. Not a Hero of any Figure in *Homer* but he is called, *Equal to the Gods*; *Like the Gods*. The *Americans*, at first, imagined the *Spaniards* to be Gods.

Of these several Etymologies, the People were ever the Dupe, taking the Term *Gods* in its strict Import: The Word, indeed, was exceedingly ambiguous. Among the Learned it often signified no more than a Nature, very little superior to that of Man. Sometimes the Scripture, which uses the common Forms of Speech, gives the Appellation of *Gods* to Kings, and even to Men in Power. But all these ways of speaking, if reduced for an Instant to the pure Stile, are plain Indications of Minds susceptible of Excesses of Admiration and Flattery, and quite void of any sound and unchangeable Idea of the divine Nature.

C H A P. III.

Of Spirits.

IT was not a Multitude of Gods which could satisfy Man; Spirits were further to be added. The Nature of the Soul was a Subject of eternal Disputes among the *Grecians* and Philosophers. They doubted whether Immortality belonged to Spirits inclosed within Bodies, and whether in Operations they were on a Footing with Spirits free from all Connexion with Matter.

It is natural to give the Souls a more particular Disquisition, their Existence having never been controverted. The antient *Perians* held them to be immortal. The *Egyptians* placed the Soul in the Blood. The antient *Chinese* admitted its Immortality. The Northern and *American* Barbarians were persuaded of it; and of all the Points of Religion 'tis the most magnificent.

The antient Inhabitants of *Perse* have left everlasting Monuments of their Opinions of Spirits. The Temple of *Persepolis*, that unparallel'd Pride of Architecture, and the famous Pyramids, will shew to latest Posterity, the high Idea which the Antients entertained of Spirits detached from Bodies. *Moses* having a sensual rude People to deal with, secreted this precious Tenet; but at length this capital Truth was professed by the *Maccabees* without any Veil.

It may at present be affirmed, that the Immortality of the Soul is universally acknowledged. It was in Effect very difficult to reconcile the Genius of the People with the Accounts of some Travellers, after investigating the Nature of the human Mind.

It appears immediately, that a Religion, rejecting or not saying a Word of Hell, the Immortality of the Soul, and Providence, is invincibly repugnant to the Genius of the People, and to Policy no less than right Reason; and thus could not, for any considerable Time, predominate among any People of the World, so far from being universal among the *Caffres*, the *Mozambiques* and the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Coromandel*, &c. as we had been told.

To what Purpose to object *China*, *Japan*, and some Kingdoms of *Asia*? It is true, that in these Countries the Religion of the Court and the Sect of the *Literati* profess Atheism under the Name of *Heaven*, *first Matter*, and *Soul of the World*, as, after so many Disputes, has been demonstrated. For, in the most policed Kingdoms of *Asia* they have a particular Academy formed by speculative Men, who have got above the Genius of the Nation; but the People, unacquainted with these Mysteries, and not let into the Secret of the Creed of the Court and Academies, fear the Gods and stick to the common Religion. The Worship of Spirits prevails in this Empire with a Heat and Solemnity, which possibly exceeds any thing in all Antiquity: Superb Temples are built to the Spirits

Spirits of excellent Persons, in which Perfumes are continually burning; this being, as the *Chinese* imagine, the only thing which can excite Sensation in the Spirits.

The most common Opinion of the Destiny of Spirits is the Metempsycosis, which has overspread all the East, *China* and *Japan*; but the different States of the Soul, and its Mode of existing, varying according to Policy and Circumstances, a great Diversity has risen in the Worship of the Dead, in which I find several Particulars by which Nations may be characterized; and others in which no Difference betwixt the Nations of Antiquity is perceiveable, but a very wide one between the Antients and ourselves. This is what should carefully be attended to.

I therefore pass over in Silence the costly Piety of the Antients, the stately Mausoleums, those solemn Games and Races, those Banquets in Honour of the Departed, which gave such a captivating Splendor to Idolatry; all those Things having been equally observed among the several Nations, who concurred in the Opinion of the Immortality of the Soul. The *Americans* themselves in their funeral Pomp, observe Customs intirely resembling those of Antiquity: They have their Games, their Races, their Gladiators; they even sacrifice Captives, as may be seen at large in the wonderful Accounts of these Countries.

It must be own'd, that if the Exercises of Veneration for the Dead among the Antients

appear

appear in all Respects uniform, yet the Tenderness of those People differs extremely from that of the Moderns, as its passionate Expressions infinitely surpass ours. The Mourning of the Antients shewed itself in many striking Particulars; they cut off their Hair, they shaved their Head, and, according to the Difference of Customs, let their Beards grow. *Achilles* hearing that *Patroclus* was slain, rolled himself in the Dust and tore his Hair.

The holy Scriptures are full of the like Passages, taken from the History of the eastern Nations, which are no more than imitated by the Greeks. For it must be owned, that such frantic Despair, so common in *Homer* and amongst the *Jews*, very seldom occurs among the *Romans*, who paid to the Deceased the Tribute of Grief and Respect in Honours and a sedate Piety, not in Tears and wild Gestures.

In relation to Hell, I do not meet with any considerable Differences among Nations. The Nature of Pains is in itself little more than indifferent; and as to the Duration, the Antients never have determined it with any fixedness. 'Tis in the Article of Paradise and the Felicity of Souls, that the Politicians brought their Nations to adopt the Opinion which suited best with the Interest and Nature of the Government.

The eastern Princes countenanced the Pythagorean Idea of the Metempsycosis, that Subjects might be the more ready to part with their Lives at their imperial Command, in Hopes of

a happy Transmigration. It has been an immemorial Custom in *India* for the Wives and Slaves to throw themselves in the funeral Pile of their Lord and Husband ; whilst, pursuant to the Metempsycosis, Beasts and Birds are preserved with a Kind of religious Tenderness, as the Receptacles of the Souls of the Deceased, in Hospitals built for that Purpose.

These Monarchs perceiving Slavery had taken such Hold of the Genius of the Orientals, that Liberty was looked upon as an insupportable Disorder, caused Rewards to be preached agreeable to these Dispositions. He who had nobly sacrificed himself for the Life of the Prince, or of his Master, was infallibly intitled to the Advantage of attending him in another World, in the same Post he had so worthily filled here: At a Funeral of any great Officer, a Horse, and all the Appurtenances of his Post are interred along with him. *Mahomet* inveigled his dull *Arabians* with a Paradise abounding in the choicest Sensualities. The *Greeks* and *Romans* being Republicans, made Paradise consist in the Company of Heroes and a perfect Acquaintance with Wisdom. The Kings of *Egypt* having erected those fastidious Monuments, which were to transmit a venerable Idea of their Names to latest Posterity, directed the Priests to inculcate to the People, that it was the Delight of departed Souls to come and take up their Residence in those pompous Mausoleums. The Christians are the first,

and the only Men, who placed *Paradise* in Heaven and in the Knowledge of God.

The Antients, not placing the Soul in Heaven as we do, retained in it a Concern for, and Sensibility to, all the Objects of Life; this Opinion is promotive of Tenderness, and, as it were, calls back the Dead among us. The Philosophers were divided into two Opinions, of which one attributed to the *Manes* a Remembrance, and a Regard for those Exercises which had been their Delight upon Earth; and the other rejected the Immortality of Spirits. But these last Philosophers, like the *Chinese* Metaphysicians, who are arrant Atheists, having always been obliged to symbolize with the public Speech and Ideas, this Doctrine has been of no Consequence in the Genius and Religion of the People.

Spirits thus came in Vogue, after the Gods were already swelled beyond Number: I have observed at the beginning of this Book, *Plato* was the first that brought them into Reputation amongst the *Greeks*. The vigorous Attacks of the Christians, made the Gods begin to totter much under the Sons of *Marcus Aurelius*. Under *Julian*, Paganism affected to refine itself, but, properly speaking, only hastened towards its Fall. Then the Philosophers, in order to stop the Career of our holy Religion, fell every where to conjure up Spirits, the History and Nature of whom were not stained with all those Vices, of which the Christians had convicted their Gods. They were invoked, by the

the most energetic and solemn Conjurations, to exert themselves in support of Idolatry ; but it was only so much Labour lost. *Porphyry* and *Jamblicus* acknowledged, that the Majority of Spirits were evil, that Divination was not to be had by their Means, and that nothing was to be done without Hydromancy and Lithomancy, that is, Divination by Water and transparent Stones,

It was soon perceived, that the surest Way to gain Reputation was to write boldly on what nobody had ever seen, nor could see : Besides, an Inquiry into Spirits was of all Things the most suited to the Genius of the *Greeks*, who were subtile, superlatively serious, and rather towering than just.

This Infection, which began at *Constantinople*, at last reached the *Latins*, and corrupted their Gravity. *Albertus Magnus* led the Way, and had many Followers, among whom the famous *Pic de la Miranda* was seen : But, at length, this ridiculous and criminal Art, together with judicial Astrology, sheltered itself in the School of the *Jews*, from whence it dares level its Attacks only at weak Minds, or Desperadoes, without Resources or without a God.

This gives us an Opportunity of proceeding to divide Religion into two Parts, public and private.

C H A P. IV.

Of public Religion, and of the Fondness of the
Antients for the Marvellous.

IN public Religion are comprehended Miracles, Prophecies and Enthusiasm, which the Greeks term Extasy; in fine, all the liturgical Ceremonies. Let no Exception be taken at the Terms of our Division.

The Marvellous is the Characteristic of the first Ages. The further we trace Antiquity, the more frequent the Appearances of the Deity: and the sagacious Critics determine the Date of an Eastern Book, as it is more or less filled with supernatural Manifestations. This State was a Kind of continual Revelation, approaching nearly to an Intercourse and Familiarity with the Gods.

The Deity insensibly discontinuing his visible Presence, withdrew into Tabernacles and Temples, which were unknown till the second Antiquity. Thus, among the Orientals, the Deity no longer spoke Face to Face, nor immediately to Men, but by his Operations in a Cloud, or by extraordinary Ministers: But all this was, yet, no more than ringing the Changes on the *Marvellous*.

The Gods no longer spoke themselves, but Miracles did that Office, and had a long run, Superstition having no Principles to check them. Criticism was at that Time unknown, and was besides of little Use to People accustomed to a

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Plurality of Gods. The *Epicureans* and *Cynics*, who openly turned all Miracle into Ridicule, were yet puzzled at the Fascinations practised on new married Couples, and some other Prodigies ; and, after all their Raillery and Incredulity, never formed themselves into a System of Criticism ; there being no Rules nor Monuments of any such Thing in Antiquity.

This Attack upon the *Marvellous* should have been preceded by some Attempts to mend Mens Morals ; but their Ignorance in Morality continued till *Socrates* and *Plato*, who could not sufficiently wonder at such a fatal Negligence : Of all Things, its Progress was the slowest. In the meridian Age of the *Greeks* for Arts and Sciences, *Socrates* taught covertly, and with all the Salvoes of Irony, only the simplest Principles of moral Divinity : A little before, *Anaxagoras*, and some others, had with Fear and Trembling intimated an Explanation of Eclipses, which they durst not strike out of the List of extraordinary Phænomena, and place them in the Order of Nature : So far were People's Minds then from being ripened into a Fitness to combat the Marvellous. In nothing has Mankind shewn less Judgment and Penetration than in Religion.

No sooner did Christianity spread its Beams, than the Marvellous was perceived to be infinitely decreased : The Oracles ceased, together with Prodigies, the Christians evincing their Fallacy, or confounding them by Works infinitely superior. The Heretics, even the *Greeks*, did

did not pretend to corroborate their Mission by Miracles, nor to have received it from the Deity, or from any other Intelligence: Few of this Kind ever appeared, except *John de Vicenza* at *Bolonia*, and *Savonarola* at *Florence*; for the *Tutelar Demons* of *Scaliger*, *Chicus*, *Cardan* and *Campanella*, they are to be looked upon only as ingenious Fictions, imitated from the familiar *Demon*, and Reputation of *Socrates*.

In fine, at the Revival of *Theology*, the true Principles of the Discussion, and of the Character of Miracles were signally established; religious Controversies produced Criticism, and the false Marvellous of the 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11th Centuries vanished.

After this short View of the Fondness of the Antients for the Marvellous, let us consider its Influence among the Moderns.

C H A P. V.

Of Miracles, as relative to the Genius of the Modern Nations.

IT is an Observation of the greatest of our Historians, the celebrated *De Thou*, that *France*, among all Nations may boast of the happy Temperature of its Climate, and of its Genius, neither of which break out into any violent or singular Effects in Nature or Morality. Nothing of that Jumble of popular and suspicious Devotions, which draw the giddy Crowd together, are seen among us. Both our civil and ecclesiastical Authority forbid those particular

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Superstitions. Our Fathers stood up for Religion Sword in Hand ; and when after a long Resistance, the later Protestants submitted to the established Authority, whatever they might believe of them, they published Prophecies in their Favour, and Enthusiasm lifted up its Voice in the Desarts and Mountains of the southern Provinces : But let it be observed, that this Resource was not tried till after the Miscarriage of Arms and Writings, contrary to the Principles, the Bent, and the Nature of the Reformed Religion, and that it never made its Way beyond the Commonalty and ignorant People. Prodigies are the sure Symptoms of a dying Sect ; but Fanaticism, taken as a Taste for the Marvellous, is certainly very rare in *France*.

Even amidst the Troubles of the League, when Darknes\$ overspread the Nation, and the People were so ignorant and overheated, few or no Miracles were heard of ; whereas the *Spaniards*, in the profoundest Tranquility, in the finest Ages for Arts and Arms, have through this irradicable Fondness for the Marvellous, continued, and still continue in the Humour of Pilgrimage, in a servile Fear, in Legends and Traditions, little suited to the Majesty of the History of Religion.

Italy also, in its most luminous Days, has not intirely guarded against the Intrusions of Superstition. The Amenity of Fables has insinuated itself into the subtile and indolent Genius, as accustomed to the Marvellous in its ecclesiastical Splendor, and inclinable thereto, by the Prox-

Proximity of the eastern Climate. The wisest Critics of that Nation have ingenuously owned the Multitude of popular Traditions, and the Uncertainty of Legends.

Even the *Italian* Polity, so much boasted of, is subject to the Intemperance of Imagination. The *Italians*, hereditary Dispensers of the Favours of the Church, have not always husbanded them with that Oeconomy which excites Desire and keeps up their Value. To be thus profuse of its Treasures, or to scatter about its Anathemas, appears to me equally a Deviation from the fundamental Rule of all Government, which never familiarizes Man with the Objects of religious Worship, and of his Veneration: Then the Vivacity of their Faith, and the Heat of their Imagination, have got the Start of their Policy.

The first See has indeed opposed judicious Barriers against the Progres of the Marvellous. The Examination of such Works as might at first carry the Marks of a supernatural Hand, is attended with the most rigid Forms, and even submitted to the Attacks of Infidelity. Well would it be if this Severity so becoming a Religion possessed of two Miracles, were extended to the antient Legends.

Upon leaving *Europe*, all Sects, whether idolatrous, *Mahometan*, or Schismatic, appeared to have perfectly deluged Religion with Prodigies and ridiculous Miracles. Among the *Jews* and *Mahometans* we see nothing but impertinent Narrations, trifling Stories, shocking Traditions,

tions, and shallow Observations on Things absurd or indifferent. The constant Preamble to the Theology of the Orientals is a genealogical History of their Gods, the fabulous Antiquity of the Nation, and the Exploits of their Heroes. No Part of the World is a Stranger to the Fictions of the Alcoran. Over all the East and South, a Kind of sublime Supernaturality, or ridiculous and droll Performances prevail; and which, void of any solid Use to Mankind, are only for Show: But nothing is more certain, than that to consider the Scriptures for a Moment as a Book merely human, its Miracles make quite another Figure than those of the Heathens; this the Genius of Nations should have been brought to a Sense of, by Criticism; and did not the Expression carry too much Boldness, it might be said to be *the Sublime of the Marvellous*.

Thus is there a certain Display of Grandeur and Reason in all the Works of Heaven, from the Beginning to the End, which was never known, or never could be imitated by the *Pagans*, by the Authors of the *Mahometan Books*, nor even by those of the sacred Books among the old *Perians*, where Idolatry was professed in its greatest Purity.

The Savages of *America* are acquainted with few other than malignant Deities: Brought up in Terror and Revenge, they seldom lift up their Eyes in Addresses to Heaven, but fix them on the Earth, or roll them about in the Dark, to dispel the evil Spirits. The Savage, so fierce in

the

the Day-Time, at the Approach of Night becomes timorous as a Child, and is afraid to stir a Foot in the Dark.

They relate incredible Things of their Deities : They have held out against the Manners of *Europe*, and the Accommodations of our Manner of living : Our Eloquence, by them, has been accounted no more than empty Sounds ; and our Government but a Shadow of Liberty : And, to secure their terrible Institutions, they fly from the Advantages of Commerce to barren Mountains and dangerous Forests. However, this pertinacious Pride of Reason, which all the Force and Art of the best policed Nations have not been able to bend, has bowed its Neck to the inevitable Yoke of religious Fear, and of the *Marvellous*.

C H A P. VI.

Of Enthusiasm and Prophecies.

Religions are of *Oriental* Extraction ; and, accordingly, the luxuriant Imagination which has predominated since the first Ages, is clearly discernable in them : These People gave to the Explications of Religion, and the sacred Stile, that Turn which has hitherto reigned, and ever will prevail, in religious Matters.

Indeed, in the Promulgation of Religions, there was no doing without the poetic Stile ; it was of absolute Necessity to their Introdum-
ment : But *Mahomet*, and the first Poets of Religion,

Religion, run into palpable Extravagancies, as to the Genius and Figures of their Art, very different from the *Hebrew* Poets, who carried it to the highest Pitch of Perfection, and there stop'd. Further, all Prophecies, all Intercourse with the Deity, were thrown into Verse by all Nations: The Exceptions to this among the *Greeks* were very few, and not heard of till the Declension of the Oracles of *Apollo*, which was predicted in Prose.

Prophecies have been more common among the *Orientals*, from their natural Enthusiasms. The *Lamentations* are written in Verse; and God inspired his Prophets in such a Manner as best suited their Talents and Constitutions: The Inspiration was received in Sleep; and if some Moderns have admitted waking prophetic Revelations, it was because they were no Antiquarians. *Michaiah*, before he delivered his Prophecy to *Abab*, directed a musical Instrument to be played upon. *Samuel* met with Prophets who play'd upon Instruments; and throughout all these Climates, Enthusiasm, or the Eloquence of Arts, has been the Language of Religion.

The last Degree of Enthusiasm is Extasy, which signifies *a Separation*: In this sublime State, the Soul, freed from the Shackles of the Body, soars up by Contemplation to Things immaterial and divine. But the *Orientals*, for want of Curiosity on the Origine of Prophecy, or being but lame Philosophers, called the

Falling

Falling Sickness, the Sacred Sickness, conceiting Convulsions to be Preparatives to Inspiration.

Extasy is very common among them. The Bonzes are for attaining Immortality by giving certain Postures to their Heads, Arms and Legs. *Siaca*, the Founder of the foreign and idolatrous Worship of *Japan*, which he had picked up among the *Brumins*, was born twelve Hundred Years before *Christ*: In his nineteen Year he forsook his Wife, left his Palace, and retired to the Top of a Mountain, where he used to sit cross-legged, with his Hands upon his Breast, the Ends of the Thumbs touching each other; an Attitude which, according to the *Orientals*, fits the Soul for profound Meditations.

On the other Hand, *Roos* appeared in *China*, and his Mother went eighty-leven Years with him. Another eminent Person was *Dorma*, a Saint of such a vehement Devotion, that he had his Eyes cut out, because they drew him from his extatic Meditations. The Enthusiasm of the *Mahometans*, the hundred and twenty-four thousand Prophets; in fine, the immense Extravagance of the Fables of this Kind in the East and South, is Known to all who know any thing of the State of Error and Religion.

Thus, according to the Spirit of these Nations, the Summit of Wisdom consists in Silence and Contemplation: The *Europeans*, on the contrary, placed it in the Administration of public Affairs; and into these two Systems will the World ever be divided. The eastern
Saints

Saints are careful not to dissipate themselves in the external Functions of the Ministry, and are never seen running about the World on Missions, but confine themselves to Harangues, and Explications of doctrinal Points, on a Kind of public Theatre. The Priests alone understand the Language in which the theological Books are written, as may be seen among the *Castas*, *Bramins*, the *Tartars*, the greatest Part of the *Africans*, and likewise among the ancient Divines of *Egypt* and *Mexico*.

The History of the Oriental Saints, engraved in *Picard's Book of Religion*, shews them always in this profound Meditation and ridiculous Immobility, which is carried even to a Lethargy; and out of which, if they happen to start, it is by an impetuous Enthusiasm, hideous Shouts, and convulsive Motions, whereby they strangely seduce the ignorant Populace, who on their Knees venerate even the most infamous Postures of these Monks.

Thus the mystical Life, and the Spirit of Quietism, which among us are the Portion of a very small Number of Souls, and taken for the genuine Effects of an extraordinary Vocation, are in the eastern Account no more than the Qualifications of ordinary Devotees. These are the only two Spirits of Devotion through the whole Universe.

The Diviners of the *Caraibes* go through a-stonishing Austerities and Pains, during their Initiations. The *Mexicans* swallowed Potions, which deprived them of their Senses, and sometimes

times irretrievably. The Conjurers have continual Extasies, very little different from the Enthusiasm of those Diviners mentioned by *Jamblichus*, who could bear the Fire, or being run through with red-hot Spits: But here, in *North America*, Barbarism and terrible Prejudices, act in the same Manner as the physical Cause of the East; and inflame Imaginations, which are by Nature cool and judicious; and this, certainly, is a most wide Difference.

The *Romans*, though plunged in Credulity, yet never went far in Enthusiasm. The Art of Augury and Divination, being lodged in the Hands of the chief Families and great Personages of the Republic, have always maintained the Dignity of their Character: On the contrary, a Predominancy of Imagination was very common among the idolatrous *Greeks*, and even among the Christian *Greeks*.

Among all the Prophets of Error, *Mahomet* rose like a Cedar. This extraordinary Man, born to change the Face of Religions and Empires, till the Age of fifty, and under all the Composure of Meditation, kept concealed in his Heart the turbulent Passions of Love and Ambition. Every thing, even to Fables, in his Hands assumed an Air of Grandeur: He cloathed Religion with Terrors unknown before: A God, a Fate, and War, overwhelmed the Imagination of Man, if it could be overwhelmed. Every Burden is too light for it; nothing delights but what staggers it: And thus it was certainly easy for *Mahomet*, in his Negociations to make hisingsh

Negotiations with Mankind, to give himself those Airs of Superiority, with which, in all Times, it has been so infatuated.

Enthusiasm is what the northern and western People are seldom or never infected with. Among the *English*, indeed, it has sometimes appeared with a Force and Singularity becoming their free and melancholy Disposition : For, what is the famous Enthusiasm of the *Quakers* but the Freedom of the Citizen and Philosopher carried, if the Expression be not too bold, to a noble Delirium ? Among the *English*, 'tis a Consequence of depth of Thought ; 'tis an Effect of the Mind, rather than of the Heart. Here 'tis an Enthusiasm of Fortitude ; in the south 'tis an Enthusiasm of Passions. It is not in Nature, that the *English* Sect should ever spring up in the Climate of the *Oriental Genius*.

Since Christianity, Inspiration has been perceived to become infinitely less frequent. Among the *Pagans*, the whole Ministry of the Priests was, as it were, naturally inspired : Among *Christians*, Revelation is a most distinguished Favour of the Deity to select Souls. It is certain that more Inspiration was heard of among the *Pagans* in one Century, than in all the seventeen since the Commencement of Christianity.

C H A P. VII.

Of the first Part of external Worship; of Festivals, Ablutions and Penances.

THE external Worship of all the Antients was made up of Holy-days, Dances, theatrical Representations, Sacrifices, Hymns and Banquets; and all this with very few Tenets. To worship God in Penance and Mortification, little agrees with the Genius of depraved Man: There is nothing of these in the particular Spirit and Temper of any Nation. One and all, Philosophers likewise, have been unanimous, that except under the extraordinary Wrath of Heaven, the Gods had no Altar more propitiating than the Theatres and Places of Resort; and that, not Dejection and Tears, but Festivals and Sports, were the most acceptable daily Worship: So that the Genius of the East, instead of giving an austere Turn to Religion, made it the Centre of Mens Passions, incorporating into it every Object that excites and entertains them.

Even the Festivals and Solemnities of the Jews were not without Cheerfulness; especially many gay and lightly Circumstances attended a religious Concourse of the Israelites. It is certain, that civil and sacred Festivals are the Basis on which all the antient Legislators had established Religions.

If we extend our Sight to the Extremities of the World, we again perceive in Japan this Basis;

Basis ; or, if the Term may be allowed, the Soil in which have been bred all Religions of Man's planting, Festivals, and Ablutions of the Body. The *Japonnese* conceive, that to appear before the Gods with an afflicted Heart is indecent : Music, they believe, diverts them : Rites, Ceremonies, Formularies, ecclesiastical Laws, as Rules of Conduct, they have none, at least in the *Sintos*, which is the Court Religion.

To come to the second Article, the Doctrine of the Ablutions of the Body is not easily accounted for ; yet has it not been the less established among the Nations of the remotest Antiquity. Possibly the *Orientals*, Authors of the first Religions, taking an extreme Delight in Bathing, as moderating the Heat of their Climate ; and besides wanting Linen, abounding also in every Kind of Luxury and Ornament, conceived this excessive Love for Purifications, and whatever related to bodily Elegancies. Thus the *Egyptian* Religion, spreading itself every where with an extreme Rapidity, Purifications became an Article in the Symbol of all Religions.

However this may be, certain it is, that the most sublime Observers of the Mysteries of *Ceres*, recommended the Purity of the Body as an essential Qualification for the State of Perfection. Purifications were the established Preparatives for the Celebration of those Mysteries which contained a most pure Doctrine on the Nature of the Soul and Morality.

I cannot think, that this proceeded from an Imagination that there was any Connection between the Cleanliness of the Body and the Purity of the Soul ; but among the Antients every thing was double, every thing was emblematic: Nothing was done by them, which was not declared by some energetical Figure ; and the Learned had used themselves to these national Customs. This Spirit of Figurism, which is not yet decay'd in the East, may possibly be the Origine of Ablutions, and many other religious Practices.

At length Christianity appeared, and at once imposed Silence on all this Clutter of Festivals, Spectacles and Banquets. It is surprising that the Antients should have limited Penance to the Priests alone, as if other Men did not offend the Deity as much as that venerable Order. In Christianity, on the contrary, Penance is of universal Necessity ; and its Mysteries and Festivals were celebrated with a majestic Melancholy. On this Account it was, that the *Pagans* could not bear a Comparison of their Festivals with what they called *Christian Detraction*: But the most inveterate Enemies of our holy Religion could not at least deny it this philosophic Advantage, of having moderated the Sallies of the Commonalty, of Women and young Persons. The melancholy or serious Constitution of a Religion, has certainly a great Influence on the national Temper. Religion, like Morality, of which it is the Principle, ought to be serious. The Decorations and Festivities

vities in *Italy*, have quite enervated the Piety of the People. Thus Policy itself explodes the Dances and Festivals of the Religion of the Antients.

The riotous Festivals of Idolatry intoxicated the People, and gave it that pernicious Habit of *Spectacles*, which became the Frenzy of all Nations : Shews, Banquets and Sports, which were a considerable Part of Religion among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, in Time so indisposed the People for any thing of Labour, that the former would not be kept from the Theatre ; and among the latter, in the imperial Ages, the Commonalty became absolutely incapable of earning their Livelihood.

C H A P. VIII.

Second Part of the Outward Worship; Ceremonies and bodily Expressions.

LET us now come to the second Part of Worship, which is entirely ceremonial. In all the Religions of the South and East, without Exception, their Worship was onerous : The Imagination and Subtly of the People invented Ceremonies, Images of the Deity, Representations of incorporeal Beings, Signs and Allegories of all Kinds ; and, to this Day, this Superfætation of *Asiatic* Trinkets and Ceremonies subsists even in *Italy*.

Mahomet offered Violence to the Genius of his Nation, in the Abolishment of Idolatry ; but in vain : For not long after its Destruction,

human Nature every where recovered its Ascendancy in the infinite Number of Ceremonies, in such frivolous Minuties, such rigorous and fantastic Usages, that no Law is so difficult to be observed. *Mahometanism*, well practised, is an intolerable Yoke. Nothing can be imagined more transcendent than the Head of that Religion ; 'tis the true God cloathed with his Attributes ; but its Limbs are deformed, and the whole Contexture ridiculous.

Let any one take a View of all the eastern and southern Religions, every where he meets with this Exuberance of Ceremonies and Punctilio's, together with such fine-spun Cases of Conscience on these Heads, that, to those People, the Rigidity of our Casuists would appear a very relax Indulgence. All Sects, the Christian not excepted, *Monothelites*, *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. are clogged with Observances and Austerities, utterly impracticable by the western People ; such as the Fasts of the antient *Anchorites* of *Thebais*, &c. These are the Products of a predominant but weak Imagination, straining Decencies into Superstition, and conceiting itself polluted by any slight Stain, on which the Law has dared to fix the Name of Impurity.

In the Article of Religion, the *Egyptians* drew the Pattern which all other Nations followed : This ingenious People had exhausted their Imagination in the Oeconomy of Religion. The Despotism of the Prince would admit but a small Number of civil Laws ; and the Despotism

spotism of Religion would have a Multiplicity of Rites and ecclesiastical Ordinances : The Reason of it stands in no need of Explication. It is the Observation of all Travellers, that the nearer a Nation is to *Egypt*, the more prevalent is the Metempsychosis : Besides, the *Siamese* use the same Representations of their Gods as the *Egyptians*. The most illustrious of all their Saints was not a Native of *India*, being represented with curled Hair, like a *Moor* ; whereas the *Indian* Air produces on the *Moors* long black Hair, quite lank, and with few Curls ; and the ecclesiastical Epocha of this Kingdom coincides with that of *Cambyses*, who conquered *Egypt*.

Thus all Nations submitted to Customs confirmed in the Course of Ages, and proceeding from the only Nation of any Learning in the Universe. The *Romans* alone maintained the Dignity of external Worship against the *Greeks*, as *Dennis* of *Halicarnassus* shews with great Prolixity. According to him, the Sacrifices which, as peculiar to the *Romans*, were called *Sacra patria*, exceeded every thing in Gravity ; yet this Writer flourished in *Pompey's* Time, when great Numbers of Foreigners were already settled in *Rome*. Though afterwards the Ladies grew out of Conceit with these Sacrifices, and gave into the Mysteries and Worship of *Ihs*, its Ceremonies having in them something more piquant and convenient, these foreign Rites were never a Part of the national Religion. These Priests were often banished

out of *Rome* by *Tiberius* himself and other Emperors. Thus the old Religion was always uppermost, regulating the Augurs, and alone used at the Sacrifices, in the the Senate and the Capitol.

In these latter Ages we have seen the Authors of the Reformed Religion succeed in a very hazardous Experiment on the People, depriving them at one bold Stroke of Ceremonies, Images and all the Glitter and Entertainment of Religion: But the Projectors of this new System work'd within a contracted Sphere of flegmatic People, little affected by all Kinds of Representations. Amongst all the Christian Nations, the *French* are incomparable for exhibiting to *Europe* the most elegant Model of religious Decencies. Free from an alienating Gravity, its Worship is mild and natural, forming a most amiable Medium betwixt the Jejuneness of the Reformed, and the Intemperance of the eastern Nations.

These general Reflections on the Ground and Nature of Ceremonies must be accompanied with others on bodily Expressions in the Performance of those Ceremonies.

The Expression of the Body is natural to the People of the South and East, in whom the minutest Objects raise Emotions, of which we are not susceptible. The Difference of Organs affords them Sensations very different from ours. They scratch their Face, tear off their Hair, roll in the Dust, pray besprinkled with Ashes, as so many Expressions of their Grief

Grief and Repentance. Christians are surprized, if not ashamed, of the Devotion of the *Turks* in their Temples ; there's no coughing nor spitting, and deep Sighs are the only Sounds which intrude upon the solemn Silence ; and this is even not uncommon in *Italy*, where Penance already begins to refine upon the ancient Simplicity.

The Devotees in *Asia* seem in a perpetual Transport. Dancing, which being accounted an Indecency amongst the Orientals, is permitted only to public Women, yet is grand and noble in these Quietists. The Contemplation of the Deity throws them into these sacred Gesticulations : Sometimes they sit whole Days with their Arms folded to improve their Meditation. In short, there is nothing so exalted, in the imaginative Kind, of which they are not capable.

The whole Alcoran is wrote in the Grand Visir's Linen. The Devout scruple to take the Air on Fast-Days ; no Bleeding, no Refreshment, they debar themselves even Perfumes after the Vow of Pilgrimage.

Accordingly, it was not the *Romans*, among whom Monkery was never in great Vogue, but these very People, who furnished those Prodigies of Solitariness and Penance that make so shining a Figure in Church History. Next, in order of Time, and Praise to the Sufferings of the Martyrs, are the celebrated Austerities of the Monks in *Thebais* : But such strong Imaginations have great Need of being governed by

by the Spirit of true Religion: Wanting this salutary Check, this pure Illumination, what have they brought forth, but Monsters, or incredible and ridiculous Innovations and Refinements, such as those of the *Makometans*.

These Reflections, we hope, satisfactorily delineate the general Spirit of public Religion; and now proceed to private Religion, the second Part of the Division.

C H A P. IX.

Of private Religion, Magic, Allegories, Mysteries.

IT was not long before Men grew out of Conceit with the common Gods, of whom they had either experienced the Weakness, or known the Vanity. The Curiosity and Ignorance of the early Ages invented Magic, whose fundamental Ideas must be owned truly worthy of the Dawn of Metaphysics. As it seemed incredible to the first Men that the immense Space betwixt the Sky and the Earth should be void of Beings and Intelligences, they soon filled it with Spirits and Geniusses, of a middle Nature, betwixt the Divine and Human. Thus far it was happily imagined.

Secondly, it very often happened that the Gods refused to answer Mens Inquiries; so that Means were to be used to get a Revelation from them, and force them to break Silence. Metaphysics in those Times, like all the other Sciences, were not yet rescued from the Hands of

of the Poets, who were also Musicians; and these, in Honour of their Arts, easily persuaded their rude Cotemporaries that the World was governed by Principles of a real Harmony, like that of Verse and Music. *Pythagoras* had propagated the Doctrine of Numbers, the Arrangement of which in a certain Combination, distinguished by certain Intervals, produced an irresistible Power: The Order of the Elements was subject to it, and all the Laws of Nature were no Obstacles in its Way. *Plato* in his philosophical Extasies, when writing on the Deity, imagined almost to hear the admirable Concerts of the Heavens. The Splendor of the celestial Expanse, which proclaimed the Deity, forwarded their Infatuation. The *Chaldeans*, and a hundred other Nations, went a-madding after judicial Astrology. It seemed according to Order, that the Universe should begin with the imaginative Ages. It must be owned that this metaphysical Conjecture was not a little enticing. One cannot help regretting the Loss of that enchanting Harmony; the Simplicity and Delight of the System, incline the Mind to wish it were true.

It was no more than natural for such heated and towering Imaginations as those of the ancient People of the East and South, to precipitate themselves into Metaphysics, without waiting for the Slowness of Physics, and the Display of the true System of the Universe by Time and Experiments. They inverted the necessary Progression in the Generation of Sciences,

ences, by forming Metaphysics antecedently to Physics.

Still a Perplexity remained, arising from the evil Principle, which had by no Means escaped their Conception : This put them upon having Recourse to Magic, which, as well as the Evocation of Ghosts, was for a long Time held so perfectly innocent, that in early Antiquity, to be a Magician was the Characteristic of a great Man : Virtue was not made for an Art of this Nature. *Plato*, indeed, speaks of Incantations for the Distempers of the Mind : But there had previously been a Distinction of a long standing betwixt a sublime Magic, corresponding with the Gods, and a foul criminal Magic, unbecoming any Person of Character. It overspread the whole Face of the Earth, under the same Forms, the same Process, the same Invocations, as appears from Monuments of Antiquity; the judicial Reports of Inquisitors, the Decrees of Parliament, the Sentences on Sorcerers, &c. a Proof against the Atrocity of this Art, equal to any Degree of critical Weight. The Devil never fails to show himself in the same Form to those who invoke him : He answers or keeps Silence always according to the Forms of the Invocation. There are every where the same Convulsions, Agitations, Signs and Vestiges of his Operation and Presence : A Spirit of his Rank does not stoop to Variety, Politics, and the infinite Combination of Wants and Circumstances.

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In the Practice of Magic there is no specific distinguishing Process, betwixt the *European* and the *Southern* Nations: All have drawn at the first common Fountain, which has ever remained *in statu quo*. The Invention of the Art, which belongs to the Orientals, and the Eagerness with which it has been cultivated by some Nations, are the only specific Difference betwixt those People and us; for it is true, that some Nations have been more violently accused on this Head; *Egypt* in particular, has been transmitted as universally lying in Sorcery; the modern *Jews* are herein chargeable with Excess and a criminal Erudition.

The *Italians* of the later Ages have pervaded all the Depths of this Science. Formerly the *Thessalians* had hereditary magical Traditions, and now the *Laplanders*, and the Inhabitants of the *Piedmontese Vallies*, boast of the like. The first Inquisitors make mention of *Moorish Colleges*, in which it was successively taught to all Youth of the Nation; but *Isabella* ordered them to be demolished. In the Universities of *Fez*, *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, there is a Professorship of Magic on the *Arabian* System. This ridiculous Science is in great Veneration among Savages, and all servile, ignorant and miserable Nations, as a Resource from their calamitous Situation. The Courts of eastern Princes swarm with Astrologers, particularly the King of *Perſia* entertains, at a vast Expence, a Parcel of them, who are always about his Person, and must never be without their Astrolabes. In

China,

China, there are few State Affairs of more Weight than the Almanack or Calender of lucky or unlucky Days.

Thus the Substance of the eastern philosophic Spirit, Morality excepted, was a false Sublimity under the Appearance of Metaphysics. The southern Imagination admitted only sensible and elevated Things, such as the *Platonic Rings*, the *Pythagorean Numbers*, Verses, the Almighty Processes of Magic, Empire, the Influence of the Sun and the large heavenly Bodies on Minds and Governments. Then it was that Physics and Metaphysics came to be confounded; afterwards, in the scholastic Ages, *Logic* was accounted the true Metaphysic; what a Difference betwixt these two Metaphysics! the Antient was a Kind of sublime Poetry; and the Modern, the more one considers it, the more it appears to be a sapless Skeleton.

Epicurus, at length, was the first who boldly separated Heaven from Earth, and Man from Spirits, assigning distinct Concerns to each. Through a wretched Temerity, he indeed rejected Providence and degraded the Deity: But he must be owned to have laid the Foundations of Physics; and to him we owe the first Attacks on Magic and the Marvellous.

C H A P. X.

Second Part of private Religion, Mysteries and Allegories.

MYstery and Allegory are the Magic of Terms, as the Commerce of Spirits is the Magic of Things. This Manner of writing and conveying Instruction sprung from three Causes ; a general Turn of Mind for Mystery and Reserve ; a jealous Policy of the Priests and Scholars ; and lastly, the Contempt of Wits and Heroes for the common Religion.

When Science began to come to a Consistency in the World, it was but newly come out of the School of Poets, those suspicious Depositories. We of these Times can hardly bring ourselves to believe, that Men of Sense, and the only School-Masters of Mankind, should ever fall into such Infidelity or Negligence, as to corrupt History, Physics, Divinity and Morality, with their Fables : They might possibly yield to a Necessity of suiting themselves to the Humour of their Age ; the World, at that Time, was still full of the poetical Manners, and over-run with Ignorance and a senseless Admirations of the Marvellous ; the grand Air was to be in every thing, by which Means Mystery was taken to be the grand Air of Truth. Morality always spoke in Apologues ; not a Branch of natural Philosophy but was communicated by some ethereal Intelligence ; Divinity was stuffed with Miracles ; there was

no Physic without Incantations, and History was perplexed with oral Traditions and marvellous Stories. The Rise and Fall of two great Empires might have been seen in all this Time; but Truth is ever opposed with greater Asperity than Ambition.

It was by the powerful Jealousy of the Ministers of the *Egyptian* Religion that Virtue was detained in close Captivity during more than forty Centuries. The Priests of Antiquity were the only Depositaries of History, Physic, Divinity, Traditions, Oracles, and Morality: an immense Fund of Power, which the Priesthood has never since enjoyed. The first Ages, and that for a considerable Time, united the Priesthood and Royalty. *Aristotle* in his Politics often confounds them. Hence it was, that the Secrets of all these Sciences were ranked among State Secrets, and the People became accustomed to it.

Thus jealous in the double Character of Kings and Priests, they threw up innumerable Barriers against the Avenues to the Oracles and Religion. The hieroglyphic Language explained by Figures and Symbols, the Properties of Things to the rude People; nor was it ill adapted to Polity, then newly established; but the Priests afterwards took Care it should not fall into Disuse.

Thus was the hieroglyphic Language appropriated to the Sciences, and the common Language went current in Society, and the Trades necessary to Life.

No less strict were they in the Choice of Persons admitted to the Participation of Mysteries. Those of the *Cabyres*, of *Mithra*, of *Samothracia*, of *Ceres* at *Eleusinum*, of *Atys* and *Cybele* in *Phrygia*, all are Copies of the grand Original of the *Egyptian Isis* and *Osiris*: Learned Foreigners affected such an Admission; and there was no refusing *Alexander*, *Cambyses*, the Emperors and Heroes.

The Source of all great Mysteries was a State of Perfection. The Purification of the Soul was to be acquired in the Initiations; its Disengagement was perfected in that State of Death and Insensibility, to which the Devout reduced themselves by Abstinence and Mortification.

The Savages of *America*, the Incas of *Peru*, the Kings of *Mexico*, practised the same Austerities in the Initiations of their Chiefs, as did the antient Knights of *Europe*. The Diviners of the *Caraibes* mortify themselves with horrible Sufferings during their Initiations; those of *Mexico* drink Potions, which, as has been before said, threw them into a Delirium. Thus the Initiations, or rather the Trials, have been nearly the same among unpolished Nations; so that it was rather Ignorance, and the Genius of the Age, than that of any Nation. It is well known how energetical the Antients were in their Ceremonies, and how passionate in the Expressions of their Faith. Their Eyes poured out Floods of Tears at the Mysteries of *Isis* and *Adonis*: Nothing is more celebrated in the antient Writers than the Regeneration, or the

New Life, procured by the sacred Balsams and the penitential Exercises. Thus the Antients were more sympathizing, we more philosophic: This is the perpetual Problem between Antiquity and us; or, rather, it is the famous Problem of the Heart and Mind, of the Imagination and Philosophy.

It is easy to judge, from a Knowledge of the human Heart, of the Devotion which accompanied those secret Practices. *Plutarch*, a grave Historian, and graver Philosopher, speaks with an awful Respect of these Mysteries, of which he would have given a particular Description for the Edification of the Public, had he not dreaded the Wrath of the Deities that presided in them. The Priests contrived Thunder-claps, and other awful Effects, by a rapid Succession of Light and Darkness. *Tertullian* with his usual Heat asserts, that the true Reason why these Mysteries were so close a Secret, was the abominable Filthiness of them: But this Reproach is contrary to the Testimonies of the *Literati* and Heroes of all Antiquity.

However it be, the antient Mysteries were very different from the common Religion; for in the latter there was not a single Word of the mystical Life, of spiritual Regeneration, nor of all these States of the Soul: The Heathen Commonalty were seldom let into the necessary Points of Morality, through an unjust and savage Contempt in the saturnine Sages. Thus, among the Antients there was a twofold Spirit of Religion.

I dare pronounce that all these Mysteries and Allegories were beneath the Curiosity and the Freedom of the *Greeks*. However corrupt as this Method was, and especially in *Egypt*, where its Absurdities were shocking to Sense and Virtue, the Antients strove to deprive each other of those Mysteries and those Deities: Every Nation was for having a Theology of its own Growth. The *Greeks* were not long in casting into a new Mould the Mysteries of *Iris* and *Osiris*, dedicating them to illustrious Persons of their Country. Never were seen so many Rhapsodists, so many Plagiaries, Religions, Ceremonies and Gods: Such Rapines! such religious Ambition! such *Grecian* Insatiableness!

C H A P. XI.

Of the Clearness of the Christian Religion, in Opposition to the Mysteries of Paganism.

THE Veil is torn, all Things are brought to an Unity. The Christian Religion has abolished all those Distinctions of Jew and Uncircumcised, of Profane or Initiated, of Greek and Barbarian, of Scholar and Plebeian, by calling all Men to the Knowledge of its Mysteries, and thereby restoring to Minds that Liberty which they never before so generally enjoy'd. It has prepared them for Philosophy and the Use of Reasoning; and accordingly the Pretenders to Philosophy started up much sooner

under Christianity, than ever they did under Paganism.

We have no Mysteries in Morality ; and to bring our Mystics and the Secrets of the inward Life into any Comparison with the Mysteries of Antiquity, would be the Height of Absurdity. The Antients had a two-fold Religion, that of the Commonalty, and that of the Heroes and the Learned : The former were kept in Ignorance, and the public Religion was palpably suspicious : From the close Reservedness, in regard to one Part of the Worship and Belief, it looked as if the Credulity of the People was to be glutted with all the Extravagancies of the Fables of Theology, of which the Government took no Manner of Care. The Attention of the Antients in a political Education, and the exalted Sentiments to which they raised the Mind, makes their Negligences in the Article of Religion the more unaccountable. The antient Politicians went no farther than the Immortality of the Soul and Hell, which were enigmatically set forth, and mixed with Fables, enough to bring all these Histories of Spirits into Discredit. Such a Religion was by no means a solid Foundation for the State ; but among the Antients it supported itself by the free Nature of the Government, the small Extent of Dominions, the Simplicity of Manners, and the Excellency of the Laws.

On the contrary, the Christian Religion is an unshakable Foundation for the State ; the Plan

Plain of the Religion, its Mysteries, all its Duties, the Nature of the Soul and its Destination, are distinctly and particularly laid open to the Eyes of the People. The Maxims of the inward Life add nothing to Practice but Enthusiasm and the Secrets of Love; and even these Ways no Christian is debarred from: The Secrets of Christians contain only Niceties; whereas the Mysteries of the Antients envelopped the Nature of the Soul and all Morality.

This Perspicuity and Plenitude of Revelation is an Advantage peculiar to the true Religion. *Mahomet* being an absolute Legislator, and naturally averse to all such Methods, could not form his System without running into the Defects and Weakness of his Nation. All *Mahometans* acknowledge a two-fold Sense in the *Alcoran*, infinitely different; and the *Mahometan* Libraries are full of nothing but Commentaries on the Allegories of the Law. These People imagine that Fables and a two-fold Meaning, add a Kind of Retinue to Truth; and this Equipoise they dispose of in the following Manner: They assign four Preceptors to the Heir of the *Persian* Throne, only to instruct him in these four cardinal Virtues; but, withal, spoil the Effects of this Education, by the immense Croud of Officers about his Person, who are to address him in the Terms and Postures of Adoration.

To return to modern *Europe*; Allegory is now exploded in the Art of Writing. In the

thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries, and even in the sixteenth, the Learned, who were mostly Physicians, were suspected of dealing in Magic: They had indeed spent a considerable Time in the Study of the *Arabian Languages*; and thus contracting a Habit of Allegories and Figures like the Antients, it gave a Handle to Suspicions. Now Antiquity spoke and writ in the Taste of the first Ages. An execrable Thirst of Gold broke out, with which the Learned were more particularly infected. The most vigorous Philosophers were overcome by the Mysteries of *the great Work*, or the Transmutation of Metals. State Necessities obliged them to conceal the Secrets of the Art from all but Adepts: Then it was, that Enthusiasm mastered the Imaginations, dazzled by Gold, and heated by Hope and philosophical Faith. Their Researches were impatient; their Manner of Writing like Inspiration. The Discoveries were veiled under the Stile of prime Morality, and the Maxims of Wisdom. But, after all, this particular Mystery of a greedy Avarice bears no resemblance to the Spirit and Design of the antient Mysteries; its Disciples, besides, were only a small Number of Philosophers; and, among them, very few to whom another Name would not have been more in Character.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Ministers of Religion.

IN the first Ages of the World, the Authority of the Ministers of Religion was unlimited. Even when the Royalty was distinct from the Priesthood ; yet the Priests, being the Monopolizers of Learning, the only Physicians, Historians and Philosophers, what a Fund of Respect and Authority flowed in upon them, from this Assemblage of civil, political and sacred Qualities, is easily conceived.

But various have been the Regulations of the Independency of the Priesthood on the State ; and its Distinction from the political and secular Power. Among the *Hebrews*, the Priests were absolutely independent in their Offices ; as they also were among the Antients in general, except the *Athenians*, whose Jealousy and Suspicion, so natural to Sagacity and Exactness, obliged the Priests to be accountable to the State even in ecclesiastical Affairs.

Romulus, who knew nothing of the *Greeks* or Antients, proceeded upon a soldierly Plan, overlooking that Respect which had been observed by the civilized Nations, and others who had invented Religions. It must be owned, that this Barbarian succeeded in his first Assay, and that, of all the profane Legislators, he alone hit upon the true Temperament of the military and religious Virtues. He made himself High Priest of that infant State, which would not

then well bear a Separation of the Priesthood and the royal Prerogative. A few Traditions, for giving a Dignity to his Extraction and the Origine of *Rome*, were all he retained ; the Mixture of Fables with Religion, though no Stranger to their Seducement, he absolutely forbid : He, doubtless, foresaw, that, soon or late, in some Interval of Tranquillity, a philosophic Genius rising in the State, and shocked at the absurd Superstructure, would suspect the very Foundations of his Religion to be sandy. Hereby, at least, he saved *Rome* from that endless Accumulation of Fables which disfigures the *Grecian History*.

The Patricians assumed to themselves the Privilege of Augurs and Auspices ; afterwards the High-priesthood, and all the Honours of the Altar were theirs. Religion, under the Management of Persons of their Rank, Property, Experience and Gravity, was not liable to sinister and factious Interpretations.

The *Romans*, having united the Priesthood and the Empire, reaped those Benefits which will ever result to all human Religions from such a Disposition. First, their State was freed from the perpetual Discord betwixt the two Powers about their Rights and Boundaries. The Consul could not be tempted to incroach upon the Gods, as chief Officer of the State, without being incited to restore it, as Head of the Church ; the whole Nobility were in the same Circumstances, being all of them Ecclesiastics, of one Kind or other. Thus at *Rome*

Infidelity and Profaneness, which are generally the Emanations of a Court, never were known to spread among the Multitude.

Secondly, the Consuls and Magistrates, taken up with their several important Functions, no Questions on the Truth of Religion, no Animadversions on the Vanity of the Augurs, were to be apprehended from their Quarter, which are too often all the Fruits of the Studies of sedentary Persons, who plod over Books of Divinity. The Magistrate, naturally tenacious of the antient Maxims, made use of them as an invincible Argument to a considerate People, who habituated themselves to the Customs of their Ancestors, according to the Law *More Majorum*. Polemics were in no great Esteem, whilst the Baths and Porticos rung with Voci-ferations of the *Greek* Philosophers, declaiming on Morality and the Immortality of the Soul. Accordingly this was ever the Profession of the *Romans*, that the World was governed by Gods, who required Worship and Obedience from us. Who feels not a strong Pleasure in reading *Cicero*, at the Height of *Roman* Grandeur, philosophising on the Advantages of his Nation. In other Qualities he allows the *Romans* to have had their Equals; but in the Article of Religion, he manifestly gives them a Pre-eminence above all other Nations; and to this he attributes their unparalleled Successes in War, by giving Force to the military Oaths. It is true, that the *Romans* coming to familiarize themselves with the *Greeks*, to whom they had taken

taken an extravagant Likin, the Generals and Persons of Quality, in Imitation of the Philosophers, imbibed the first Seeds of Infidelity; But the *Roman* Genius being little turned for Controversy, they learned to doubt, but not to dispute.

The religious Polity of the *Romans*, on the Choice of Ministers, might be transferred into an *European* Government, where the Chancellor of the Kingdom, or the President of the Senate, should be Bishop of the Capital; the Prelates of the Provinces chosen from among the Magistrates, or the Magistrates from the Ecclesiastics, according to the different Engagements of the Persons and Nature of the Hierarchy.

A Work of Reflections requires only an Account of the State of the Ministers of Religion in different Nations, without any Detail of their Functions, &c. The Rank which the Clergy holds, is one of the surest Indications of the religious Spirit of a Nation; from that, every Thing else is inferrable.

C H A P. XIII.

Of China and Japan.

THE *Chinese* Government tolerates the extravagant Penances of the *Bonzes*, who drag Chains thirty Foot in Length, striking themselves on the Head with all their Strength. It allows them to ingratiate themselves with the People, by distinguishing Austerities, and even

even to preach up certain Points in all the Extremity of Rigour, as never to drink Wine, or kill any living Creature. But on the Articles relative to the public Tranquility, as Adultery, Lying, and Property, it is inexorable.

The Mandarine often obliges them to observe Morality in its utmost Strictness ; they are also in their Speech to conform themselves to the Court Religion, and to use the Terms of *Matter, Portion of Matter, first Soul of the World*, on this *Chinese* Principle, that Homage from all other Sects is due to the Religion of the Prince.

The Court is of Intelligence with the Metaphysicians and the Learned, who have been clearly demonstrated, to be no better than Atheists. The Adoration of the heavenly Bodies is down right *Spinozism*, or pure Materialism, concealed from the People by the Pomp of the Sacrifices. All the rest of the Nation worship Spirits and the Gods of the Country. The Riches and Pride of the *Bonzes* are limited by the Government, and all the Stir they can make in the State, is to raise Persecution against foreign Religions. For, in fine, the Priesthood in *China* is dependant on the State. The Emperor orders the Temple to be built : It is he alone, who on solemn Days offers Sacrifices to the Heavens ; in short, he may be stiled the Head of the Religion.

The political Constitution of *Japan*, and the Division of the Priesthood and the Empire, is still more singular and refined. The *Dairy*,
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or ecclesiastical Emperor, is descended in a right Line from an Emperor who reigned six hundred and sixty Years before *Jesus Christ*: His Family were obliged to give up the Throne; but the greatest Honours ever annexed to Religion, were continued to him. The Habits of his Court are remarkable and grave; he has reserved to himself the Privilege of conferring Titles and Honours, which he sells to the secular Emperor; and among these Qualities, are some, by Virtue of which, the Purchaser is stiled a celestial Person. Nothing is more singular than the Ceremonies of his Marriage. His Beard is never clipt, nor his Nails pared, but when he is in a sound Sleep, and then by a Kind of a Theft committed by taking Advantage of that State of Insensibility. He never touches the Ground; his Meals are always dressed in new Vessels, and should any other Person use them, he would, by divine Judgment on such a Profanation, be punished with excruciating Swellings.

Yet amidst such Superstitions, the Nobility are bookish, and Sciences are countenanced at Court. Women addict themselves to Poetry. Its Youth are trained up in Exercises. The Almanacs are formed by some Citizen of *Meaco*, of distinguished Learning; afterwards, they pass a strict Examination at Court, before they are sent to be printed at *Isia*, which is deemed a holy Place: The *Dairy* also continues the Annals of the Empire, busies himself in Chronology, the Holidays of the Nation, and the Super-

perintendency of the Learned, whose Productions generally consist in geographical Charts, in Herbals, Treatises on Minerals, Books of War, of Anatomy and Architecture, and other useful Subjects, but very superficially handled.

The Number of Ecclesiastics in *Japan* may be said to be numberless. *Kempffer* computes, that in his Time, exclusive of the *Dairy's* Court, no less than fifty-two thousand, one hundred and sixty-nine were in *Meaco* alone; so that the Churchmen make very near one eighth of the Inhabitants: However, the *Dairy*, intoxicated with the Vapours of the Altar, no longer enjoys the Perfumes of the Throne.

He sends a State of the Affairs of the Church to the Emperor's Court at *Yedo*. The Holy Book, which is carried upon the Head, and enriched with Diamonds, is received in the Emperor's Palace with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Veneration. But no sooner is it brought into the Ministerial Cabinet, than the Holiness of the Book is profaned; there it is delivered up to the Jealousy of a Council, of all others the most suspicious: It is thus the High Priest makes a Report of his Administration; and such is the Court's Way of thinking, in these Extremities of the World.

C H A P. XIV.

Sequel of the same Matter: Of the Ministers of Religion among the Mahometans, and in Europe.

UPON leaving *China* we find the established Religion in the other large Monarchies in the East to be Mahometanism, which by the Choice of the Person of *Ali*, has undergone a Schism in the Succession of the Ministers or Vicars of God.

It is really amazing to see with what Simplicity the High Priests, and particularly the *Perians*, know how to put on the lofty Air of the Ministry: An *Iman* of any Rank, that is the Name of their Churchmen, will not so much as hear musical Instruments; the Pontiffs in *Perisia* withdraw even from the King's Table, when the Wine is served, or the Orchestra begins its Prelude.

Among them are found certain Persons of exalted Devotion and profound Learning, who renounce all Commerce with Women, and allegorically expound every Passage of the *Alcoran*; but the Magistrate, and the Pontiff or Mufti, sitting in *Mahomet's Chair*, as the supreme Oracle of the Law, condemned them as contrary to the social Activity; and ever warmly oppose that Spirit of Singularity, which otherwise would over-run the East.

In these imaginative Climates was the Origin of *Monkery*; but the Christian Religion, reducing this Enthusiasm under the Rules of Disci-

Discipline, has drawn from it such Effects, and rendered it productive of such Virtues, as have been the Wonder of Nations. But the *Der-vises*, possessed by a frantic Fanaticism, throw themselves into such Convulsions as excite the Contempt of the very *Mahometans*. They go half naked, with a Tyger's Skin thrown about them ; they often whirl themselves round on tiptoe, during whole Hours, and all the time howling or playing on a shrill Kind of Music : The Close of this Scene of wild Devotion is, that in the Evening they receive Women into their Cells, or go themselves to the public Places or Brothels.

Goods and Possessions they have none : But the Revenues of the secular Clergy are very considerable: in *Turkey* particularly, the *Mosques* are even opulent. A Sultana, or a private Person, secures a blessed Immortality by building and endowing one. There are some whose Income amounts to 400,000 Livres; and in *Per-sia* they are on the same comfortable Footing. *Abbas II.* left all to the Church in an immense Annuity ; but he abolished Pluralities of Benefices ; for among them are very rigid Casuists on all Points, and many, who punctually observe the Institutes in the full Extent of the literal Sense. Most of the reputable Saints have lived by the Labour of their Hands, and all the *Mahometans*, not excepting the Sovereigns, are skilled in some Trade. *Aurengzeb*, Emperor of the *Moguls*, the celebrated Usurper, was so

superstitious, that he also lived by the Produce of his Handy-work.

All the *Mahometan* Ministers are by no means to be viewed in the contemptuous Light, in which they are looked upon by the Vulgar. The Candidates cultivate the Sciences and Divinity, and according to their Degrees attain to larger Benefices; of which the largest, as *Chardin* writes, did not in his Time exceed twelve thousand Livres per Annum. There are settled Professors in Divinity, and *Theses* are maintained with no less Noise and Vehemence than elsewhere: The Libraries are filled with the voluminous Annotations of their Doctors on the Articles of Religion, and the Canon Law; and that all Talk and Disputes of Religion are prohibited, is no more than a vulgar Error; it is only Scurrility and Insolence, on which the Lash of the Law falls.

To come at length to the Foundation of Church-power; the Institutes of *Mahomet* having better stood their Ground in *Turkey*, the Mufti has retained all the original Independency of that supreme Dignity; but, by this very Thing he is more exposed to Violence, than the accountable and dependent Pontiffs; the Grand Seignor making no Scruple, by a Stretch of Authority to depose him, and then the Bowstring is his Portion.

In the *Perſian* Sect, which is of milder Morals, and the Intellects sharpened by Schism and Heresy, the *Sedre* or High Priest is indeed supreme Judge in civil and ecclesiastical Causes:

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But, the *Persian* Opinion being, that Power is of God, the *Iman* is consequently held to be subject to the Sovereign in religious Matters. They even make the King above the Law of Nature.

Thus in these Kingdoms, extreme as is the Fanaticism both of Religion and Temper, priestly Jurisdiction has given Way to the regal Authority. After all, in every large Body of Religion, the famous Branches of ecclesiastical Power are lopped off; these Branches were Inspiration, Oracles, Victims, Sacrifices, and an exclusive Possession of the Sciences as the natural Depositaries of them. Among the ancient People of *America*, and at present among the Savages, where these Arms have not been wrested from Religion, its Appearance is no less terrible than in the first Ages of the World; and of all Ministers the *American* Diviners enjoy an absolute Independence, a distinct Despotism.

C H A P. XV.

Of the European Ministers of Religion.

THE State of the Ministers of Religion has known many Variations in *Europe*. At the Formation of Monarchies the Clergy was aggregated, with some Marks of Superiority to the Orders of the State: The Revolutions of the sixteenth Century in *Germany*, *Sweden*, and *England*, were supported by civil Policy; but the Independency of the Church, and its Supremacy over all temporal Power, has given

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Rise to many famous Quarrels. *Rome*, fond of reviving in the Church all the Majesty of the Empire, interposed her Authority in all the Interests of Princes; and by Way of Corollary to this Principle, that the Fiefs of Sovereigns were Tenures from God, it was soon asserted, that the Investiture, together with Cognizance of Felony, belonged to his Ministers. Thus it was no more than natural to consecrate the Possessions and Persons of the Ecclesiastics, by exempting the former from all civil Tributes and Taxes, and the latter from the Jurisdiction of the Sovereign's Officers.

Respect and Terror were impressed on the People; and these submissive Dispositions were accompanied with an Ignorance of political Right, which lasted three or four Centuries; and during all this Darkness and Confusion, let me be allowed the Expression, nothing was seen to shine but the Sword of the Church, and Thunderbolts from *Peter's supereminent Tribunal*.

The Antiquities of the Church lay hid in *France*: There it was that civil and ecclesiastical Law received a second Light; though the State of Sciences and Literature were far from that Splendor and Superiority, whereby it is since become the ecclesiastical Treasury of *Europe*. The Government which the Saviour of the World instituted in his Church was mixed, and this Government *France* has revived. The Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, as under the Royal Protection, contained in the Canons and de-

determined by the Limits of the Hierarchy, have raised the second Order of this Kingdom to that Pitch of Learning and Wisdom, which even *Italy* cannot forbear admiring. Amidst all their loud Contests about the Empire of the Church, the brightest Ornament of the *Roman* Church is that of *France*.

Never had the Distinction betwixt the Priesthood and Prerogative been known, nor the Boundaries of the two Powers marked out with such Prudence and Respect. In *Germany*, the Priesthood and Sovereignty have been blended, consequently the Ecclesiastical mixed with the Laic Manners: This was the Source of that Abasement, of which, the Ignorance of the second Order is the Effect. *Italy*, by the Authority of the apostolical See, had subjected the Throne to the Church: *Spain* and *Portugal* keep the People in awe by the Court of Inquisition. In *England*, the King is supreme; the Church sits at the Foot of the Throne, and is subject to the civil Jurisdiction. It is *France* alone which has restored the Limits fixed in the apostolic Times. Each Power, collected within itself, concurs to the Defence of Religion and the State. The Reformers of the last Ages offered Violence to its Freedom, and unhinged the Privileges of its Constitution, by making the Priesthood accountable for the Administration of an Office which is wholly spiritual: *France* offers at nothing but the very mild Remedy of Appeals as from Errors, which it

respectfully presents to the Church, when any of its Ministers are guilty of Excesses.

Justice requires an intire Forgetfulness of the Cloud under which this Church lay, during the Reigns of the latter *Valois*, and that violent but short Storm, raised by the Passions of the Heads of Parties. The People were drawn into the League by nothing so much as the Declamations of the Monks, the Root and Sap of which are always of *Italian* Produce. That the fundamental Maxims of the Leaguers against heretical Princes were all and every one imported from beyond the *Alps*, is a Truth as clear as any in History.

Among all the Nations attached to the *Roman* Church, *France* has certainly hit upon the just Temperament of Church Government: the Inquisition of *Spain* and *Portugal* have on the contrary, introduced Ignorance, by taking away the Freedom of the second Order, to which the Ecclesiastical, no less than the political Empire, had particularly annexed the Study and Love of the Laws.

In *England*, the Extreme is opposite: there its anarchical Church, awed by the civil Constitution, leaves an unbounded Range to the Spirit of Literature; whereby the Philosophers are become too free, and being emboldened by their vast Numbers, have not only brought the established Religion to their Bar, but virulently attacked the first Principles. So that in no Christian Society is to be found that noble Harmony, that accurate Temperament, that mild

mild Subordination betwixt the two Orders, as in the *Gallican Church*.

There now remain only two Branches of the Spirit of Religion, Toleration and Proselytism.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Spirit of Toleration among different Nations.

Antiquity, though spirited and tender in its Faith, never persecuted foreign Religions. Theology was not yet become contentious, every Nation worshiping its own Deities, without concerning themselves about the Existence, and History of the Gods of other Countries. The *Pagan System* afforded no Handle for theological Disputes. So many Nations, so many distinct Traditions, which were kept in the Archives of Religion, to which none had access but the Priests, that the carping Spirit of Criticism, might not be furnished with Arms from thence. All Religions being of the same Nature, no Nation could except against that of another, as shocking and absurd. Every one might have seen the protecting Deities of his Country. The Oracles were a Fountain, common not only to *Greece*, but all other Nations. The Sacrifices, and the Parade of external Worship, afforded but trifling Differences, just of as much Consequence, if I may be allowed the Comparison, as the Variations in our Disci-

plines: all Nations worshiped their Gods in Sacrifices, Processions, Hymns, Dances and Games.

To this it was owing, that religious Wars were never heard of among the Antients; for as to the Wars of the *Amphyctions*, it was occasioned from a profane Insult offered to the Temple of *Greece*, and not from any Obligation imposed on the *Phocians*, to acknowledge and worship their Deities. It is true that Information was to be given of all new Religions, to the *Areopagus*: But, in this, there was no Compulsion, nor any vexatious Consequence, since *Hesiod* at that Time computed thirty thousand Gods in *Athens*. This Behaviour I do not attribute to any particular Mildness in the Temper of the Antients; the Principles of all the Sects were no Bar to a tranquil Intercourse. Upon the first Appearance of an incompatible Religion, the *Roman Genius*, till then so moderate, and which, in order to strengthen the Empire, had franchised all Sects, became a severe Persecutor.

All that was required from Strangers, was to abstain from any Profanations, or Affront; for such as were settled in any Place, they were only to observe a respectful Silence, whilst Metaphysics, and such Spinossities, were left to the Wranglings of Philosophers: nothing was apprehended from such refined Seduction, with respect to the People, who scorned to be imposed upon by Scholars.

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In fine, the Government which the Antients most affected, manifestly led to this Toleration. It is certain that the Republics, much more readily than Monarchies, came into the Spirit of universal Religion, having the Means of employing every Subject; and Artificers and Manufacturers flocked to those Seats of Indulgence. The *Dutch*, the *English*, and *Protestant* Countries in general, in whom there is ever some Mixture of republican Principles, are Proofs of my Proposition. According to the Rules of true Religion, I hold Toleration to be blameable. But the *Dutch*, after admitting it as a Principle of State, found out the Art which *England* could never come at, of moderating the Indocility of Sects so happily, that thy enlarge the Body of their State without lacerating it. Whether after this, it be any Superiority in modern Politics, or other particular Causes, which inspirited the Government; it may be averred, that these People, the most surprising Phenomenon of human Industry, have in many Articles surpassed the *Greeks*: these excluded, or were very difficult in admitting Foreigners: whereas, in *Holland*, Outlaws, and Sectaries from all Parts of *Europe*, purified as it were by its Policy, become useful Members of the State; and that Country may be said to have the peculiar Faculty of forming good Subjects.

The Spirit of Toleration has an Affinity with the Genius of a People, and the Constitution of a Religion. The antient *Greeks* were

of a tolerating Spirit, in consequence of the vague and flexible Nature of the *Pagan Religion*, which had no Interest nor Foundation, to reject foreign Gods. On the contrary, it was customary to associate them with the Gods of the Country, in order to appease their Resentment, or procure their Favour. These same People under the Reign of their Emperors, who were born for Violence and Persecution, became *Image-breakers*, and run into those Excesses of Rage and Madness, which to this Day distinguish the Sectaries of their Nation. Jealousy is the reigning Passion of the *Grecian Sects*: the continual Depositions of the *Grecian Prelates*, make a most ridiculous Figure. In the History of the *Latins*, there is nothing comes up to the Violence of the Bishops, their reciprocal Hostilities, the continual Parricides committed by the Sects on the Persons of their Emperors. The Throne of the Empire and the episcopal Chair, were the common Sport of Heresy and Fanaticism, which never ceased to molest the Empire, till they brought a total Destruction upon it.

On the contrary, the *Turks* tolerate all Religions, though every Thing among them prompts to Persecution; a militating Religion, which spares no Unbelievers, an Empire founded on War, and Objects continually awakening the Jealousy of their Worship, all Religions abounding with Pictures, Decorations and Images, against which the *Alcoran* inveighs with Menaces, and an Energy not to be met with in any other Religion;

Religion: but their Toleration proceeds from a natural Phlegm, and a Love of Indolence. Whereas the *Grecian* Rage flies at every thing, and carries its religious Rancour to the most unhuman Extremities.

In general, Toleration cannot be a political Principle, fit to be admitted among a mettlesome, jealous, subtile People, as the *Spaniards*, *Arabians*, *French* and *Italians*, chiefly the *Florentines*; out of these, *Venice* and the *Lombards* are to be excepted. To incorporate a Variety of Sects into such States, would be to throw them into fatal Convulsions.

In fine, to conclude this Matter, Intolerance is often caused by the Nature of a Religion, the *Turks*, the *Jews*, and *Christians*, worshiping one only true God, are naturally carried to exterminate all other Religions, as idolatrous. Religious Passions are still more heightened by the Division of Sects; the less the Difference between them, the more vehement their Hatred: it is the constant Principle. If the Oriental shake off their Supineness to draw the Sword of Persecution, there is no Outrage or Barbarity but what may be expected from it. The little *Tartars*, Zealots for the Sect of *Omar*, are the most terrible Sticklers of the *Alcoran*, and make nothing of stabbing a *Perfian*, who holds with the Succession of *Ali*; and this before a Crowd of People, though sure to die for it. Their Blood rises only at the Intruder's Name.

Thus

Thus we have seen how far Toleration depends on the fixed Genius of the People : the rest may vary, and is to be referred only to the different Circumstances, which a Nation may be under, or to political Motives, as may be observed in the Conduct of the *Romans* towards the *Christians*.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Spirit of Proselytism,

OF all People both Antient and Modern, the *Jews*, the *Greeks*, the *Turks*, the *Mahometans*, the *Christians*, and among *Christians* the *Europeans*; and further, among the *Europeans*, the Nations that adhere to the *Roman Church*, and which entertain religious Orders among them, have surpassed all others in Proselytism, or Ardeney for propagating Religion.

The nearer the North, the more frequent the Revolutions; the farther Southward, the more Firmness, and Passion in Religion. The antient Schemists of the first Religions, had little Reason to concern themselves about the Propagation of their Worship; all the Deities in their Time being very easily reconcileable, the Motives for Conversion must have been extremely culpable. The *Greeks* alone, stimulated by an intriguing, bustling Temper, which spread them in every part of the World, and by their natural Facility of writing and speaking, together with a Fondness for letting up

up to be Teachers to other People, carried their Mysteries, their Fables, and their Deities to the furthest Parts of the known World. The *Jews*, as Worshipers of one only God, who had ordered them to extirpate the Enemies of his Name, could not but flame with Zeal for making Converts.

Mahomet being an Imitator of Judaism and Christianity, exhorted his Followers, upon the same Motives, to extend his Religion; at first he made use of Arms, founded his Empire on War, and anathematised Unbelievers, giving up their Persons, Temples, Provinces, and Women, to the true Mussulmans; and even laying all Princes under an Engagement, to endow the Mosques, which they should build, with additional Conquests.

Afterwards, to allure the *Arabians* and *Oriental*s to the Standard of his Law, he had recourse to the sovereign Secret of Proselytism: he taught a twofold Paradise, the one beginning even in this World, in his unlimited Licence of a Plurality of Wives; the second he promised in the other World, for which he contrived Women of inconceivable Beauty, new Organs, unknown Sensations.

Lastly, in order to facilitate the Promulgation of his Law, and overthrow all Opposition, he suppressed Arts and Sciences, and extinguished the Light of Knowledge; thus destroying the small Remains of mental Vigour. Men being thus left without the Guidance of Science, or

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the Incentive of Principle, he animated them with the Doctrine of absolute Predestination, than which none is fitter to make intrepid Soldiers. That a Philosophic Opinion should become the Genius of a Nation, is of all Things the most surprising ; yet such is the Confidence of the *Turks* in this Fatality, that they buy and wear the Cloaths of infected Persons, &c.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Continuation, and a Parallel betwixt the Orientals
and the Europeans.*

HERE it is that the Genius of the *Europeans* and *Orientals*, has drawn itself in its ordinary Colours. The *Mahometans*, who like us have the Privilege of Preaching in idolatrous Countries, content themselves with establishing their Worship, without any Danger, in Countries already conquered. On the other hand, nothing can come up to their Transports, the Expressions of their Faith, and with their Ardour for converting the Christians, that are settled among them. The Princes spare neither Menaces nor Promises ; there is no greater Cause of Exultation, than the Conversion of an Infidel ; it is even a Work of infinitely more Merit and Honour than among us. But in general, the greater the inward Heat of the Imagination, the less Action and Energy without. The *Italians*, and all the southern People, whose Passions strike more forcibly than ours, are lazy, and look upon Repose as the sovereign Good.

Good. They are not given to travelling, and are all censurable in point of Activity. Whether it be that the Advantages of the Climate, the Want of Courage, or the Pleasures of Meditation, keep the Devout at home, it is certain that this missional Languor reaches even to their Monks, that is, to the very Men that are appointed by their Station, for the Propagation of Religion : For its Preachers go upon their Missions with Sabres at their Sides, and attended by Parties of Soldiers ; and when the Sermon is ended, the Audience never fail being converted, either by the Preacher's Arguments, or the Edge of the Sword.

The *Europeans* on the contrary, animated with a Spirit, Proof against all Dangers, have a thousand Times travelled the Universe, and faced the most terrible Deaths, for the Settlement of Christian Colonies. The inward Grace of Christianity, grafted on an intrepid Nature, produces these astonishing Effects in the remotest Climates, and renews the Spectacle of the primitive Martyrs.

The principal Forces of the Christian Mission are drawn from the religious Orders. The Ties of Blood, and the Pleasures and Comforts of Society, are weak Engagements to detain at home a Monk without Possessions and without Hopes, and in the Generosity of his Sacrifice, resembling the Child of Tribute. The Despotism of the Order, and the passive Obedience of the Subjects, fit them to enter upon such a Renunciation, without the least repining. In fine, En-

thusiasm, the Soul of a Mission, is much more frequent and active in Monks, from their Infancy habituated to Retirement, Devotion, and the Study of Religion.

But if we surpass the *Orientals* in Courage, and the Spirit of Conquest, which extends Religions like Dominions, we must own ourselves no less outdone by those People, in their Observance of Usages. Their Genius has ever taken delight in a burthensome Multitude of Ceremonies, and external Ordinances. The last Law of public Religion in the East, I mean Mahometanism, is both a civil and political Code, according to the universal Genius of those Parts. It was the Legislator's Idea, that in thus stating the private and civil Customs, he should deliver his People from those frequent Contradictions, betwixt the Laws of Heaven and those of Earth. Nothing comes up to the *Turkish* Punctuality in the Ceremonies of Purification, Prayer, Fasts, and all outward Institutes.

Even at this Day the *Greek Schismatics*, who, since the twelfth Century, are fallen into the most abandoned Corruption, still amidst all the Changes of Places, Times, and Circumstances, inflexibly retain the Canons of antient Discipline. One Passage more will suffice. The canonical Process for obtaining Absolution, is of such a length, that it is necessary to buy it off with Money, as it would exceed the usual Term of human Life. What Nation ever equalled the modern *Jews*, not only in the Observance of the Law, but of

minute and onerous Traditions? yet on the one hand those ostentatious Martyrs of the literal Sense, buy and sell all ecclesiastical Things; on the other, the whole World feels their Usury; all the Custom-Houses of the East are in their Hands; they practise the Operations of the *Cabala*, and have instructed all other Nations in that iniquitous Art.

B **O** **O** **K** **V.**

C H A P. I.

Of Architecture and Sculpture, and of the general
Genius of Nations in them.

IN speaking of Religion, only in general, the profound Respect due to the true one, necessarily gives a grave Turn to the Stile. If among the infinite Number of false Religions, there be one true, that is sufficient to make us always apply that venerable Name with such Caution and Gravity, as the Dignity of the Subject requires. Here the Subject alters, and as it supplies the Pen more copiously, so does it allow it much more Freedom.

All Arts are of Eastern Invention, and coming over to *Greece* spread into *Italy*. It is certain that the Orientals, Authors of the first Societies, were also the Inventors of Arts, which have always continued in those Climates ; but as to the Perfection to which they carried them, the Difference is wide.

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The Advantage of having invented and retained, is due to the Orientals and to the *Greeks*; the Inhabitants of a temperate Climate, in whom there is a predominant Heat, for Instance a People so lively as the *Greeks*, can never totally divest themselves of their Taste for Arts, as it depends on the Temperament. Accordingly at *Constantinople*, even in the most calamitous Ages, a Spark of it has been kept alive, which has rekindled the whole: Whereas the graver and less impressible *Romans*, improved Elegancies beyond the *Greeks*; but when Taste once came to fail them, they never retrieved it.

Greece, when conquered, enslaved its rough Conquerors; yet even after the Sciences had got Footing in *Latium*, *Athens*, together with the Appellation of Mansion of the Sciences, always possessed an incontestable Superiority in one Kind. The *Latin* Genius, by its innate Gravity, made admirable Advancements in Eloquence, and produced several Master-pieces in the sublime Poetry; but could never come into competition with the *Greeks* for Music, Painting, Raillery, Prettiness of Stile, Comedy, elegant Wantonness, in a Word for *Venus's* Gir-dle, which the *Romans* never could get out of their Hands: also of that Philosophy, or rather that Enthusiasm, which, detaching the Soul from Business, carries it away to a profound Retirement, little was ever seen out of *Greece*, as to this Day, it is very common in the East. We now come to particular Arts.

As to Monuments of Architecture and public Works, it is certain that Antiquity, even in the earliest Times, immediately attempted the Great, without embarrassing themselves in that Labyrinth of Reflections, on which are founded the Elegancy and Correctness of the modern Taste. *Egypt* set a Model of the Sublime to the whole Earth. Possibly through the Temper of its Inhabitants, who are consummately ingenious, but no less voluptuous, it would never of itself have risen to such a Pitch of Grandeur; but being governed by Philosophers, animated by an unparalleled Genius of Religion, interested by the most tender Sentiments of Hearts devoted to the Worship of the Dead, its first *Essay* was nothing less than a stupendous Pyramid.

Perisia was not inferior to *Egypt*. Never did Architect form a Design like *Persepolis*; there are Stones fifty two Foot in Length; the most common between thirty and fifty, and four or six Foot in thickness, without any visible Joining: The Stair Case is of one single Stone, and the Vaults for Interments strike the Traveller with Amazement.

Persepolis stands on a mountainous Rock, seven or eight Miles in Length, and impenetrable by any Chissel. There are Pieces of Sculpture 150 Feet in Height.

It was nothing extraordinary for an Eastern Monarch to have his Statue cut out of a Mountain. The *Egyptian* Works of all Kinds were of this immortal Character. In remote Antiquity

quity, every Thing bore the Stamp of their Manners, great in their Simplicity ; the human Genius, in its first Efforts, always aiming at the Marvellous. In Physics, Metaphysics and History, this Taste leads to the fabulous or chimerical ; in the Arts it produces the sublime. Children, the Commonalty, and Women, who partake of the human Genius as in its Infancy, are all for incredible Romances. 'Tis among the antient People especially, that we meet with the most striking Instances of that strange Mixture of Dignity and Weakness, of which human Nature is compounded.

The Edifices of *Rome* were becoming the Majesty of its Empire ; if the Antients were unacquainted with some Secrets in the Degradation or Colours and Figures, in the *claro oscuro* and Perspective, it was no very considerable Loss ; and besides, this Charge has been often brought by incompetent Judges ; for after all the bold Censures on the Theory of the Relievo's on *Trajan's Column*, the Symmetry of the Front of the *Pantheon*, the Attitude of the *Farnesean Hercules*, and other Antiquities, what have the *Connoisseurs* determined ? It has been irrefragably proved, that the Executors of these admirable Pieces had a Right, from the Superiority of Genius, and the very Nature of Design, to supersede minute Rules for the Grandeur of the whole, and the Force of Expression.

As for the modern Architecture of the East, no Name suits it better than that of their despotic

spotic Government. The finest Palaces of their Emperors consist only of Squares, Balustrades, Domes upon Domes, and some Tower'd Porticoes. The Ornaments are only Joiners Work, and Sculpture or varnished Wood.

The Tiles are gilt; towards the Streets are Canals and Plantanes. Even the Palace of *China* is void of Contrivance, the Design awkward, and the whole faulty and offensive: All this outward Magnificence is only a confused Groupe of insular Pieces, without the Connection, Regularity and Stateliness of an imperial Residence.

From the Prince's Palace one comes into large Cities with vast empty Spaces within them. The Traveller is naturally surprized at such an immense Extent of Buildings; but the Admiration soon abates: The apparent Vastness of the Ground built upon, is owing to the ruinous Condition of the Houses, private Persons being, out of State Jealousy, forbid to carry their Buildings higher; and domestic Jealousy confines every Family, and sometimes every Couple, in one House. In *Persia*, *India*, *Turkey* and even in *China*, no body finishes his House, but new ones are made, and all the outward Show lies in natural Riches and the Glos of the Varnish.

The same Taste of Architecture, together with a Neglect of repairing Buildings, obtains in the grand Seignor's Dominions. No Man is permitted to appoint the Heir to his Possessions or Designs. An Unconcernedness arising from the

the Revolutions of the Government and private Fortunes, is grown into a Custom which hardly allows them to keep the very Mosques in decent Repair.

Europe affords but very few of those Monuments of Immortality erected by the antient East, those Temples, those immense Palaces for the Dead, or for despotic Princes. But its politic and martial Genius has, on the other hand, raised an infinite Number of civil Edifices, and, like *Tyre*, *Carthage*, &c. many naval ones also; and as for military Architecture, it is certainly brought to the *ne plus ultra* of Skill, and Boldness. This is the external Part.

In the Infide of its Buildings all the the Decorations of Antquity are grave and stately, such as are still seen in *Italy*, Trophies, Paintings, Gildings, Statues, Relievo's, Columns, Obelisks and Bronzes. *France* first taught *Europe* the new Taste of Stuffs and Toys for infide Decorations, in a formed Disposition for Use, at least for Conveniency, being without any of the Enrichments of Antquity with which *Italy* plumes itself. In the *grand Gusto* of Palaces, Churches, and Convents, it is inferior; but in military and naval Architecture, infinitely superior; and equal in that which may be termed civil, and comprehends Town-houses, Hospitals, Colleges, Academies, Libraries, Market-Houses, Observatories, Warehouses, Magazines, Bridges, Causeways, Roads, and all the Appurtenances of Cities except Fountains and Play-houses. It must be owned that the Streets in *Italy* are

more direct, broad and regular, the Houses much higher and more stightly ; the Genius of the Nation every where shews itself ; even Villages, the Names of which are scarce known, are not without some Displays of the Grand Air. But, at the same Time, they want those Embellishments, which infinitely add to the Delight of a Place ; the superb Keys, the stately Walks of *France*. *Naples* excepted, all its Constructions relating to the Sea or Rivers, are poor Works, in Comparison of those in *France*.

If to these Advantages be added our Superiority over *Italy*, in Country-Seats, Gardens and Water-works, in which we visibly out-do our Masters, we may vie with them for this third Order of Architecture.

The Distribution of Apartments, which never entered into the Thoughts of any other Nation, is also the Invention of *French* Genius. Whatever Littleness there be in these Things, still is there an Elegancy and Conveniency much better adapted to the *European* Climates, than the *Italian* Distribution. To the *French* is *Europe* also beholden for the Entertainments and Delicacies of Life, which the *Italian* himself, for some Years past, is daily importing into his Country.

The Inside of Houses, in the modern Taste of the East, though far surpassing the Outside, is nothing like the *European* Splendor. The *Mahometan* Religion, no less austere than its Government, interdicts all Representations, and

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limiting the Chizzel and Pencil to Festoons, has cramped both the Artist's Skill, and the Industry of the Manufacturer. The Decorations are gold and silken Tapestry, Gildings, Mosaic Works, *Indian* and *Persian* Carpets, Peer-Glasses, Porcelaine and Varnish. But in all these Curiosities of Art, the Eye does not meet with the Pleasure of Expression, which alone affects the Mind, and sometimes even to Raptures: They are not connected with the Figures of sensible and animate Beings.

C H A P. II.

Of the Eastern Eloquence.

ELoquence is as antient as the East itself; and its most antient known Form is that in Use among those Nations at the present Time. There have ever been two Kinds of Orators; one, whose Stile is sententious, metaphorical, full of Parables, Similitudes, and lofty Images; the other, which comes nearer our modest Manner, is smooth, flowery, concise, abounding with Antitheses and lively Contrasts. The *Greeks* were the first to lead the Way in a more grave, sublime, free, full and copious Manner of Writing.

This Eloquence has manifest Relations with the Organs of these People. Being strongly impressed by the slightest Objects, they also persuade as much by sensible Impressions and an agitated Exterior, as by Reason and Discourse. The Motion of their Spirits and Blood

rapidly disposes their whole Body to a most passionate Expression of their Thoughts. Hence arises that Vivacity of Gestures, that Force of Speech in the Orientals, and the Poets, who may be called *Asiatic Europeans*, and whose Faculty it is to please and persuade by their brilliant Imagery. The northern Sermons are delivered with a lifeless Composure and somniferous Unison ; whereas the *Italian* Preacher skips and bounces in his Pulpit, and frequently raises and falls his Voice by a whole Octave.

The Force of Imagination is often no more than a Weakness ; for these Imaginations, which appear so vigorous, on the other hand proceed from sensible and tender Organs : Being incapable of investigating Truths of any Difficulty, all their Intelligence is conversant only about sensible Objects, as Fashions, Airs and Customs.

Whether it be that such People by Constitution are inclinable to Fear, or whether the Abundance of Blood disposes them to Hope, they run into Extremes in every thing ; magnifying small, heightening low, approximating distant Things, universally actuated by a false Delicacy. They express themselves by Comparisons drawn from the Order of heavenly Things, or the Sentiments of Love : A turgid and extravagant Stile, a false Eloquence, leading to a false Philosophy.

But it is no less the Privilege of Imagination to please, than to seduce. It further presents here a piquant Contrast betwixt the settled Seriousness

riousness of the Physiognomy of the *Orientals* and the *Spaniards*, and those Flashes which sometimes issue from them. A Light suddenly beaming in a dark Air, has a much stronger Effect upon the Eye, than a vague universal Light equally dispersed..

Thus the sententious Sallies darted from the *Oriental*, *Spanish*, and even the *Italian* solemn Gravity, have a particular and truly original Stamp ; the false Allurements of which, will ever create Imitators of their Stile and Phrasology.

C H A P. III.

Of the Genius of the Orientals in Painting and Poetry.

THIS Genius from Eloquence diffuses itself to all the Arts ; but then this Imagination, which reached no farther than local Colouring, was found too strong for the Secrets of Painting ; the *Claro-Obscuro*, the *Ensemble*, the Reflections, and the judicious Harmony of the Colours : Their Painters could never attain to that Order, and those admirable Proportions, in which the Works of the *Greeks* and *Romans* were so accurate.

The *Chinese*, with all their Patience and Exquisiteness in Work, in their Mosaics, and Disposition of Colours, have nothing of that Elevation and Judgment which charm in the *European* Pencil. The *Chinese* Painters have neither an elegant Fancy, nor indeed any other
pleasing

pleasing Talent. As to Choice in Expressions, and the fine Parts, it is what they know nothing of; their Attitudes are offensive to Nature. As to Flowers and Fruits, Birds and Beasts, in these they succeed tolerably well; but as to History Pieces, complex Representations, and Pictures of high Taste, they have scarce any Idea of them.

Thus the Genius of the East and South seems born with all the Perfections allotted to it, without any Improvement by Observation or Practice; it remains as it were in a perpetual Youth: I mean, it is all Vivacity and Fancy, bold Colours in Painting, sparkling Sentences in Morality, never arriving to the Maturity of a finished Composition.

These Nations have not got above the Manners of the first Ages, as Allegories, Hieroglyphics, and the ritual Government. The Writers are universally Poets; and their annual Lists continually fall from a bombastic Sublime into the low and jejune. In fine, to expose their Regard for Truth, and what Credit they deserve, they all of them have an Aversion to Prose: The Classic Books of *China*, the Collection of the *Bramines*, and *Persian* Sages, are no more than unconnected Sentences, few of which reach to a Line.

However, though they have not been able to form a Body of Philosophy, nor a Method of Stile; and though they are inferior to us in the Whole, they excel us in some Particulars. In their affectionate and frank Expressions,

ons, there is more Nature than among us, on account of the Nudity of the Images, and the Quality of their Manners: Their Language not being spoiled by a false Delicacy, the Objects are like real Flesh and Blood. In a perfect Piece of Prose, modern Writers introduce some of their Expressions and Imagery, which add Beauty and Spirit to the masculine and well-proportioned Body of the Composition. These are what *Tully* calls *Lumina in Oratione*.

But, what is much more, the Ground of their Poetry is no other than that whereby *Homer* has made himself the Delight of all Ages. *Homer's* Representations may be compared to heroic Landships; it is the Country, in all its natural Beauties, adorned with the Images of illustrious Persons. I never read this enchanting Poet, but methinks I see *Poussin*, in the Sublimity of his creative Stile, raising a Throne amidst Meadows and Mountains, and adding Dignity to a rural Scene by a Sacrifice, a signal Action, or a stately Edifice.

In *Homer* the Princes have the Manners of Shepherds; the Simplicity of Nature is ennobled by Dignity; the Rage of War, and in the same Heroes, the Tranquillity of a pastoral Life. These Manners no longer existing among us, our Poetry is without any such Imagery; and therefore will never please equally to that of the Antients.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Eloquence of modern Nations.

FRANCE being my native Country, possibly my Readers may be more ready to exclaim against me for my Censures, than to applaud me for my Encomiums on this Nation; but in this Point I am persuaded that Foreigners will join to make a Garland of the choicest Flowers, in Honour of this impartial Work.

The Art of Writing may alone silence *Italy*, as to any Superiority which it claims over *France*. I dare aver, that since the fine Age of the *Greeks*, and the Augustan of the *Romans*, till that of *Lewis XIV.* this Art had been lost. It is clearly seen, that here I only speak of Books wrote in the national Languages of *Europe*.

France has within itself the Forms of all Genius. That Versability of Temper and Behaviour, so well known, transforms itself into all Stiles as into all Tastes. To *France* was reserved the incomparable Art of saying all that should be said, and of not saying any more. Its Enthusiasm is correct, not naked, nor encumbered with Ornaments. Its Prose, whether sportive or philosophic, is alert without Precipitancy. 'Tis the *French* Orator who has restored the Dignity of the Pulpit, by cleansing it from profane Quotations, exploding Similes, Stories, and the Familiarity of *Italian*

Eloquence : Every thing moves towards its End ; all the Particularities of Expression bears the genuine Marks of the apostolic Stile and ecclesiastic Antiquity.

For Proprieties, all Nations yield the Palm to *French* Writers. The *Grande Gusto*, so celebrated in Painting, and which selects the finest Expressions of Nature's most beautiful Parts, might form itself either upon *Racine*, or the fine Pieces of Antiquity. On our Stage, no Grimace is mixed with Passion by Poet or Actor : The fine Compositions of *France* are like the incomparable Statues of *Rome*, all Ease, all Nature.

The Connection of Elegancy of Form, with Solidity of Substance, Analysis and Method, are peculiar to the *French* Writers and Philosophers : The Turns are short and conclusive ; the Logic treads firm, and never makes a Step too much. The *English* follow the first Effusion of Genius, without offering to moderate its Flow : The Method is diffuse and studied ; and often the Singularity of the Turn, and the Fantasticalness of the Ideas, form a metaphysical Abstruseness, which in *French* would be lost. In fine, their Works of Literature are undeniable Proofs, that the *English* are but a new People, above a hundred Years short of our standing. The *Theatre* of that Nation, as lately published, shews Pity and Terror to be their only Instruments, without any thing of Proprieties, Oeconomy, and the tender Passions.

Even the very Jocularity and Songs of the *French*, are directed by a sensible Regard to Truth, Justness, and the *Ne quid nimis*; though abounding with Levity, and quite different from the Antients in Manners, they are as scrupulous Observers of Rules, and exact Imitators in the Art of Writing. Thus a perfect Book is the peculiar Product of *France*: Those of all other Countries are faulty in the Form or Taste.

The *Italian* Prose has never yet shook off that drawling Mechanism, which, upon the Cessation of the *Latin*, introduced itself into all modern Languages. Its Affectation of Euphony, the false Affinity of its Terms and Finals with those of the *Latin*; in short, its very Genius is incompatible with serious Works and an uniform Sublimity. Attempting Loftiness, it soars to Extravagancy, and both Ear and Judgment are offended at its unnatural Hyperboles. Its Harmony would naturally incline to Music and Softness; its Mechanism and Terms to ambitious Ornaments and Levity; and, accordingly, an *Italian* is the Transcript of the Genius of his Language. The Sublimity of its best Writers is no more than a descriptive Talent, incapable of those Strokes which reach the Soul, and interest it in the Transaction.

Upon a View into the Formation of the *Italian* Language, one discovers a System for altering the *Latin*, and substituting all possible Delicacy and Softness; and in which all the Wits of the thirteenth Century concurred.

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Every where there appears an invariable Spirit in the Composition of the Terms and Tenses, in the Abolition or Insertion of Letters. Not any of the *Latin Scabrosities*, as they are wrongfully called, have been retained ; which induces me to attribute the Formation of the *Italian Tongue* to a Set of Men of Letters, who at length have gradually procured it a Reception among the People ; whose Plan, if left to themselves, could never have been pursued with that Constancy, nor settled in such Uniformity.

In fine, according to the Observation of a celebrated Critic, the *Italian Books* abound with Ebullitions, nauseous to our Taste, and outrageous Breaches of Decency. Lamentations, and effeminate Complaints, suit the *Italian Language* better than the Despair and Remorse of *Phœdra* and *Dido* ; it expresses all the Weakness, but cannot reach the Fury of Passions.

I shall add but one Reason more, and which will not admit of a Reply. For Expressions of Delight and Aptitude for Music, it has not its Equal. This last Quality, of which the *Italian Authors*, not being aware of the Consequences, make a Boast, of itself decides the Question about its Force and Energy ; for being the natural Language of Music, it must be delicate and meek in its Terms, and in their Harmony.

Supremely adapted for Festivity and the Pleasures of Love, is there any Possibility that

it should be copious enough to fill up the vast Space betwixt those Levities and the Sublime?

As it will ever be a Defect in foreign Music not to be set to *Italian* Words, so dare I conclude from this very Circumstance, that every *Italian* sublime Writer will suffer by the Inferiority of his native Language.

C H A P. V.

Sequel of this Parallel, and of the corrupt Taste in this Kingdom.

THUS is the antique Taste, the grand Air which the *Italians* have caught in Sculpture and Painting, acknowledged by all Foreigners to be transfused into the *French* Works of all Kinds, whether for the Pulpit, the Stage, History, &c. In Colouring, the *Italians*, by a Warmth of Imagination, have out-done the *French*; but the Design, the Elegance of Attitudes, incontestably superior to ours, the right Choice of *Nature* and of Expressions, may be attributed partly to the great Advantage of having continually before their Eyes the Master-pieces of Antiquity.

These Works being consecrated by the Admiration of all Ages, suffered no bold Hand to neglect their Proportions. A Statue has Forms and determinate Measures: "Tis the *Golden Rule*, to which Artists must keep, or their Presumption will cost them dear. A Writer may often depart from *Virgil*, and the true Sublime, with-
out

out being perceived ; but a clear Conviction lies against the Painter and Statuary.

Further, *France* is the chief *European* Pole ; it is from her that the Influences of Peace and War descend. The whole Genius of *Italy* is spent in Arts : So far from the Glory of Conquest, or even the Resolution of an Attack, it has ever been subdued without any Resistance ; yet its Conquerors, like those of *Greece*, have carried their Respect so far as to its Fables, concealed under ingenious Fictions and the Monuments of Arts. But in Philosophy and History, the inquisitorial Fetters are alone sufficient to give us that Superiority, which Liberty will always have over every Kind of Despotism.

This valuable Taste in *France* is too truly threatened with a double Vitiation : It is now some Years since a certain Jargon (for what else can I call it ?) under the ridiculously mysterious Name of the *Bon-ton*, has crept into Companies, and adulterated the familiar Style. It is made up of a Set of Terms, authorised as it were by a Convention, and current in Clubs and Societies : This Jargon has also its Divisions.

There is one Kind in which two Terms, quite incongruous, are joined ; this is to give a Smartness and Spirit to Discourse : Another, much beneath it, contains nothing but Terms taken from the most common and often low Trades and Actions, to express one's self on the Sciences or Occurrences of Life. Such

are the Metaphors of Good Company; and which, if once admitted to be the Model of noble Simplicity, are the experienced Presage of a Declension in Taste.

Petronius, Master of the Revels in the Imperial Court, and a Man of a most exquisite Taste, felt the first Attacks of this Humour, which even then was leaning towards Affectation and false Simplicity. The *Roman Beau-monde*, like the *Parisian*, fell from the Purity of its Taste. *Petronius*, who was a leading Man amongst them, is over-run with those affected Negligences, in the Transitions and Connections of Stile, which the *French* still reverence under the Name of *Stile Cavalier*.

The Character of *Petronius* is Laconism, which lordly Ignorance still sets above the explicit Style, and what they call *Les phrases des gens de lettres*: For, in a Court Writer, nothing blasts his Reputation sooner than to be suspected of Art, Labour and Order. At that Time the Tinsel of ornamented Affectation began to supplant the true Sublime.

A like Revolution hangs over our Taste; these thirty Years Wit has been striving to supplant Genius. May the Zeal of those who remember *Lewis XIV.* rouze itself, and check the Progress of this Corruption. Ye, whom Youth and a generous Emulation should inspirit, take up the Pen; instead of being disheartened at the scandalous Successes of Wit, stand up boldly, and revive the Genius of that memorable Age. Truth's Robe is not made from

from the Caprice of Fashion, scanty and confined; her Dress is *Roman*, free and noble. When *Venus* appeared to her Son in the Habit of a *Tyrian* Virgin, with the Folds of her Sweeping Robe gathered up, *Æneas* was all the while deceived, and could not discern the Goddess but by the Dignity of her Gait and Vesture.

—*Vestisque Pedes defluxit ad imos,*
Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

C H A P. VI.

Of Poetry.

POETRY, being the second Manner ^{of} writing, naturally follows Eloquence.

throws a Light upon the Genius of all Nations, as all have universally cultivated it: Its Origin is from the East; yet, among those People, it has never attained to the grand Compositions, a Tragedy, or an epic Poem. The figurative and high-flown Genius of the Language is not equal to the continued Narration of the Epic, nor to the Familiarity and amiable Simplicity of Dialogue and Comedy: little fitter is it for a regular Tragedy, which in many Places must resemble natural Colloquy; as after all, they are the Conversations of great Persons; to these Works there is at least required an Art and Delicacy, of which these People have not hitherto produced a Specimen, as may easily be seen from the *Hebrews*, and the Translation of *Chinese* Tragedies, &c.

The *Hebrews* have manifested the utmost Loftiness of the poetic Art, in the Ode, the Epithalamium, the Idyll, Elegy and Eclogue; but as to Tragedies or Poems of any other Kind, we have not so much as a single Fragment of theirs.

This Work, discussing Matters only from general Views and Principles, its Expatiations on Particulars must be few and limited; therefore omitting the Epic Poem and all the other Kinds, we pass on to the Theatre, as the Representation of Manners, and of moral Nature, if this Expression be allowable.

The tragical Scene of the Antients had indeed nothing of the Depth of our political Scenes, this latter Art being, as it were, in its Childhood, at the Time of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*; but it abounded in the fittest Subjects to raise Terror and Pity. Oracles, Sacrifices, Self-devotions, not uncommon in the Republics, the Love of their Country exerting itself against Tyrants, incestuous Passions the Infamy of *Greece*, pathetic Instances of conjugal Affection, were on the one Hand, Sources of the most elevated Passions, and on the other, produced Monsters in Morality, as *Phædra*, &c. at which the Antients were not shocked: and so true is this, that to exhibit the Pathetic in its supreme Degree, we are often under a Necessity of borrowing our Subjects and Names from the *Attic* Scene. The Decency of our Manners would not bear such Liberties under modern Names.

Yet

Yet some Characters have been added to Tragedy by modern Authors, which were unknown to the Greeks, particularly *Roman* Haughtiness and romantic Pride. To mention only two Examples out of a thousand, what a Difference betwixt *Creon's* Justification of himself from the Charge of having murthered *Laius*, and the Apology of the Heroes accused of the same Act in our modern Plays of *Oedipus*. *Creon* argues logically, and entirely like a *Grecian* Sophist: Our Heroes are above any Defence, and for Answer, refer to their Virtues and Achievements.

Likewise *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* casts back a Look of Concern upon Life, and has several pretty and innocent Reflections on the Pleasures she might have expected from her Youth and Beauty. Not so *Racine*; he scarce allows her a Sigh, and three Lines is all he thinks Nature deserves. In *Alcestes*, another Play of *Euripedes*, *Pheres* Father of *Admetus*, and *Admetus* himself makes no manner of scruple to express a Fondness for Life: And yet it may be observed, that this Fondness might have been excused or salved with greater Decency and Honour.

Though many of the Portraits drawn by our Authors have been flattering, and carried to a Sublime beyond any Reality, yet may they in general be said to resemble the Originals, or rather adapted to the Spectators. The public Entertainment being the Scope of the Stage, the only Way to this End, is to suit itself to

the public Manners and way of thinking. The Public never fails to applaud a full, steady and uniform Character of Heroism ; and why ? because it therein sees its own Heart ; for our liking of a thing generally proceeds from some Similiarity in it to ourselves.

Thus, after a candid Acknowledgement that the modern Theatre is a little bloated, and the Virtues on it carried beyond Nature, yet must it be granted that the Pride called Romantic, and the invincible Courage attributed to our Dramatic Personages, are not without a real Foundation in the modern Character ; at least they exhibit to us the true Sentiments of our Ancestors, who have shewn us that, on glorious Occasions, Nature is to be overcome. This is certainly no small Superiority over the *Greeks*, who, in the Opinion of the accurate *Despreaux* himself, were unacquainted with this tragical Embellishment ; and this, I am apt to think from a perfect and steady Heroism being less common, and Nature more uneven amongst them.

C H A P. VII.

Of Comedy.

COMEDY will give us a much clearer Insight into the Genius of Nations. This Drama is as various as Manners ; and Ridicule in all its Variety has been brought upon the Stage.

On this Head it seems to me that the Characters of the comic Scene, and consequently the

the Manners of Men, are more diversified in Republics than in Monarchies. Liberty animates Genius and Genius forms the Character. It is an universal Remark of Travellers, that there is not one *Englishman* like another; one of them calls *London* a *Gallery of Originals*: In fine, in Republics all the Characters are open to View; full, bold, strongly marked, and vigorous. In *France* Comedy is obliged to have recourse to Shades and Mixtures, and to take up with Ridicule instead of a real and finished Character.

An Enumeration of these Characters cannot but afford some Entertainment. The antient Comedy exposed the Town-Taker or military Man; the Man of exorbitant Riches, that Eyesore to Republican Equality; the Flatterers of the People, whether at a Play-house or in a Court of Justice: Instead of our Men of Business, there was the Sea-fairing Merchant, making Riches his Idol, which, in those Days, was noted, as is commonly the Case now, with Roughness of Speech and Manners. In a Word, it was made up of the Vices of the Multitude, the Ridicule of Assemblies, the Impertinence of Orators, Spungers and Parasites. Besides these, it exposed the Stinginess of Fathers, the Knavery of Slaves, the Pranks of Youth, and the Fopperies of Courtiers; but the Expression often low, and the Contrivance aukward, nothing like the Scope which the Skill of modern Authors has given to these Representa-

tions : And moreover, Women never acted any Part on the *Roman Stage*.

The second Observation on the Difference betwixt our Comedy and that of the Antients, is drawn from the Nature of Society. The Recluseness of Women, among the *Greeks*, deprived the World of an infinite Number of brilliant Characters : Then what Delicacies could be expected on the Stage ? It is from Women that are derived those Elegancies, of which *French Authors* have made such delightful Use : It is not only the Antients whom the *French Stage* surpass in Variety of Characters, but every other Stage in *Europe* ; the Mind being heated by our incomparable Spirit of Society, leaves nothing concealed.

Women then infinitely contribute, by the Suppleness of their Heart, and the Delicateness of their Imagination, to inrich the comic Scene with Characters, not only new, but variegated with charming Ingenuity. Generally speaking, the more a Nation gives into pleasurable Meetings and stated Societies, the more it abounds in Characters, and consequently the more Advantages to the Theatre. It is very seldom that Women appeared in the comic Scene of the Antients, and these were only Prostitutes, or Girls sold by Merchants. Neither the Mind nor Heart of the Purchaser of a beautiful Slave could receive much Improvement, were he more discreet and nice than *Pamphilus in Terence* : There was a Right of Conquest, which superseded all Delicacy. Neither

ther is it often, that noble or genteel female Characters make a part of the *Italian* and *Spanish* Comedy which have usually offered only illiberal Features, both Sexes being well matched in their Meanness. If ever any Women of Distinction have been introduced, it is with all the Reserve peculiar to those Nations ; they are under no less Constraint on the Stage, than actually in the World : A young Lady deceiving the Watchfulness of her Guardians, or her jealous Husband, for a dangerous Interview with her Lover, is the constant Heroine of the Play. The *Spaniards*, Disciples of the *Arabians*, have excelled in Disguise, amorous Masquerades, Rapes, Recoveries, and all the Parts of Intrigue and Romance. But in all these Situations, Love being extremely ignorant and cramped, reduced to Fear and Silence, is far from giving any lively Picture of the Struggles, the Ebullitions and Progresses of the Passions : The Author, thereby losing an infinite Number of Beauties, which shine on the *French* Stage, in their brightest Point of Radiancy.

The Inference from all these Observations, in a Word, is that a monarchical Government affords fewer Characters than the Republican ; and that of all the Kingdoms of the World *France*, perhaps, furnishes the greatest Variety in the Characters of the Women and Lovers : the other Characters are often separated, only by gentle Gradations ; a slight Suspicion, a Drachm, if the Word will pass, of Ridicule is in *France*, sufficient to form a distinct singular Charac-

Character. So that the Spirit of our Character and Comedy is neither so full, so strong, nor so grand, as that of the *English*. I waive comparing the Executions.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the different Kinds of Theatrical Action; of the Love of Shews; and of the Profession of Actors.

AMONG the Antients, Shews were designed *gratis* for all People, there was no Prices for Pit, Box and Gallery. Every one knows that the Actor was accompanied in his Enunciation by an Instrument: the Title or rather the Program of *Terence's* Plays informs us, that such a Piece was acted to the grave Theses: it was, besides, the Custom to divide one single Action betwixt two Actors, the Declamation to one, and the Gesture to the other.

These Usages were doubtless necessary for the Emphasis of the Expression, and for the Support of the Voice, in Presence of a vast Multitude, and at a very considerable Distance. But it must also be owned, that they were a Disadvantage to the Delicacy and Freedom of the Actor, and a Clog upon the Spirit of Declamation.

Passing over what is found scattered in Books, concerning the antient Theatre, I shall confine myself to some Reflections on another kind of Action, in the antique Taste, I mean *Pantominy*, with which the *Greeks* seem to have been infatuated above all other Nations, and afterwards

wards the *Romans*, but it was when they were become corrupted.

All the Antients agree, that Imitation cannot be carried to a greater Degree of Force and Variety. The Philosophers and Men of Virtue, shook their Head at these Dances, and *suspicious* was the best Word they would give them; *Plato*, though he saw this Practice only in its Infancy, passionately lamented its profligate Tendency; yet the publick Fondness for them went on increasing, till the Destruction of the Republic. The Genius of the People became enervated through their Admiration of this Talent, which by significant Attitudes, convulsive Expressions, and the Dangers to which it often expos'd the Actors, abounded in that marvellous so taking with the Multitude. Hence the Indifferenc and Contempt of liberal Arts, whose Fall at *Rome* is exactly of the same Date, as the Height of the Pantomines. Persons of the first Quality assisted at them, which was forbid by *Tiberius* himself. We read in *Ammian Marcellinus*, that during a severe Famine, three thousand Professors of the liberal Arts were drove out of *Rome*, whilst the Pantomimes stood their Ground.

The *Orientals* have retained this pantomime Taste, which is not absorbed in the Loss of Liberty, and the Destruction of Arts; and according to the Accounts of Travellers, the Pantomime Ballets at the Courts of *Ispahan* and *Constantinople*, seem to be something far beyond ours. Eyen *Italy* has been our Mistress in this

Art,

Art, and will always exceed us. The Theatre was the Ruin of *Athens*, and is still the Pillow of *Italian* Sloth. Nations not so easily impresible by the Illusions and Energy of Spectacles, such as the *French*, and especially the Inhabitants of the North, know not what to make of the Effects of the antient Theatre mentioned by Authors, though nothing stands upon better Evidence.

The terrible Divisions formed in the *Roman Cisci* are known to everyone ; and these antient Factions lasted above twelve hundred Years, till the Wars of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, one Mischief being the Period of another. The like Factions were renewed, or rather kept up, in the Tournaments ; and here the Gentleness of the *French* Temper cannot be sufficiently commended ; never was *France* seen like *Italy*, to prey upon its own Entrails, about, a red, green, blue or white Troop. This shows the extreme Danger of opening a Circus, or solemn Games among a degenerate People, like the latter *Romans*, or of too lively Sensations as the *Italians* and *Athenians*. There is no bringing the first of these to any tolerable Reformation, but by shutting up the Theatres for a Century or two.

A Comparison of Action in *England*, *Italy*, *France*, and the nothern Nations, will take up no long Time. The *English* have but little Action on their Stage, none at all in the Pulpit, and next to none in the Parliament ; 'tis no more than they themselves acknowledge. The *Swedes*

Swedes and Germans are still inferior to theiſi ; whilst the Levantines and Italians are very eloquent in the Motions of their Body ; they extend, lift up or whirl about their Arms, to express Things for which we ſhould not ſtir a Muscle. In the Imitations of the eastern Dances on our Stage, the Action appears to us frantic and ridiculous : It is univerſal in its Expression ; their Sentiments appear ſo ſtrongly marked in their Countenances, that the French laugh at it, as no better than making wry Faces.

In ordinary Conversation, it has been obſerved, that an Italian Voice asking a Question, is upon an Unison with the French Voice in ſinging. All ſuch Expressions of Paſſions which we think fit to censure as affected and convulsive, are no more than correspondent to inward Sentiments. The Italian Actors, whom we ſuspect of aiming to please by a forced Buffoonery and farcical Gesticulations, do not depart ſo far as may be imagined, from the particular Character or Genius of their Nation.

As to the Profeſſion of an Actor ; the Greeks living nearer the Commencement of Nature, which does not condemn or ſuppreſs any Profeſſion, made no Difficulty to tread the Stage : Princes themſelves and of a princely Character, acted in their Tragedies. The moſt eminent for Wisdom and Gravity, *Plato* and *Socrates*, danced very gracefuſly ; the anitent Legislators, who were for annexing every Thing to the Republic, placed Music among the State Sciences, and regulated it by Ordinances ; a Method
which

which modern Policy has not been able, or not stood in any Need to imitate ; but, besides the *Greeks*, is there not the much greater Example of the *Hebrews*, of the bravest and most devout of their Kings, *David* himself, who in a holy Enthusiasm danced before the Ark of the Lord ?

Wisdom was conveyed to the *Greeks* in the Flowers of Poetry ; whereas the first *Romans*, born in a wild, afterwards a serious Republic, and being wholly taken up with War, made little Account of the pleasurable Arts, and the dramatic Profession never could outgrow that Mark of Ignominy which had been stamped on it by the antient Laws.

Italy, on the other hand, affords a very remarkable Proof of the preceding Maxims on the Character of Nations. This People, who have among them the first Sources of Religion, so far from sacrificing their Passion for Shews to the Severity of Christianity, Nobility not being procurable to their Actors, they were aggregated to the ecclesiastical Order. The *French* again, not carrying their Fondness for Fiction so far as the *Italians*, whose Passions are at the Command of every Object ; they think of Actors like the *Romans*, but do not behave to them like the *Greeks*.

Throughout all the East, Dancing and the Stage are reputed so scandalous, as to be formally branded by the Law ; yet the only Court Entertainments are Ballets performed by lewd Women, Buffoons and Tumblers, who far exceed the most agile of their Bretheren in

Europe ; witness the Entertainment given at the Circumcision of *Amurath* in 1582, to mention no others.

C H A P IX.

Of Philosophy, and first of the antient Philosophers.

HE R E it is of Moment, that the Latitude of the Climate of Arts and Sciences should be previously determined. In all the antient Ages never did this Latitude contain so many Degrees at one and the same Time as in ours. Literary *Europe* may be termed one philosophic Body, where the Sciences circulate with the easiest Freedom ; the Discoveries are readily conveyed from one End to the other. All the Proficients in Arts and Sciences are connected together by Correspondence, a Reciprocation of good Offices, the Publication of Journals, and the Establishment of literary Societies, unknown to the most learned Antiquity. In fine *Europe*, and particularly *Italy*, is divided into a Number of petty States ; a Division very promotive of Emulation.

Here we might say something of the Invention of Printing ; but let us not on this Head insult our Antiquity ; for if we are Gainers in new Discoveries, possibly we are no less Losers in commendable Customs. Kings and great Men practised Physic and Surgery, and the nobler Atrs, Had such happy Times continued, Disinterestedness, the abundant Supply of Funds necessary for Experiments, the Multitude of Works

Works which would have come forth under the Auspices of such Persons, themselves Authors, promise a Perfection in all Arts, to which probably, they now will never attain.

Antecedently to my Reflections on the different Parts of Philosophy, I must, for the Sake of Order, give a Portrait of its Cultivators in the several Nations. It belongs to the Orientals, by the incontestable Right of Antiquity. When I have been reflecting on the Philosophy of the Antients, its Superiority appeared to lye more in the Practice, than in the Speculations of the Philosophers.

In the Number and Passion of its Cultivators, the Antients must be allowed to have greatly exceeded us: They lived before the Birth of Prejudice, which is so baneful to Arts; and besides, the Temperature of their Countries was very favourable. Generally speaking, that Kind of Philosophy, which closes with an independent Life, and moderate Desire, obtains most in those Climates where the Bounties of Nature compensate for the want of Splendor and Power; and to this Day, the *Levant*, the *Mogul Empire*, and *South China* are full of these indolent Speculatists.

Morality seemed to have engrossed all the Attention of antient *Egypt* and *China*. The Brahmins, or Priests of the *Indian* Religion, which is one of the oldest in the World, for Solemnity of exterior Deportment, and Austerity of Life, vie with the Priests of *Memphis*.

We

We wonder at the frequent Instances in the *Grecian History* of Persons declining public Employments, for the Investigation of Truth. In all the Variety of our Manners, there is not to be found any thing like the Personages of the antient Philosophy, such as *Diogenes*, *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Thales* the *Milesian*, with many more, whose rigorous and singular Life, supported by no religious Motive, to a *French* Eye, gives the antient Votaries of Wisdom the Appearance of so many Madmen.

They who have with the least Attention read the *Grecian History* of the Lives of the Philosophers, by *Diogenes Laertius*, must observe that nothing is more common, than to meet in those remote Times, with Men spending their whole Life in the Speculation of Wisdom, or attending the philosophic Schools for ten Years, or devoting themselves to a twenty Years Solitude, preparatively to their Acceptance of a public Employment. We see others, like *Pythagoras*, undertaking the most painful Journies, only to confer with the Sages of foreign Countries : The Tour of *Greece* became no less usual among the *Romans*, than that of *Egypt* had been among the *Greeks*. The Antients may even be said to have been sometimes too modest : As instead of investigating physical Curiosities by Dint of their own Genius, they rambled abroad in quest of metaphysical Opinions, and crossed Seas after moral Discoveries, which might have occurred to them within the Walls of their City. But generally

Y speaking,

speaking, their Travels, like those of the *English*, had a substantial Motive; sometimes to inquire into foreign Rites, for the Improvement of their own Theology; sometimes to get a Knowledge of Traditions, and to visit the great Men or Luminaries of other Nations.

Truly exalted were the Effects of Philosophy in *Greece*: Its Spirit spread with Rapidity among a People, who besides their valuable Freedom, were easy about their Subsistence, instructed by Societies, divided into small Republics, and enjoying in a delicious Climate the Delights and Leisure so necessary to Study. And we find the Philosophers, like the Priestess of *Apollo*, were in a perfect Transport under the Impressions of some capital Truth. *Archimedes*, upon finding out the Solution of a geometrical Problem, sacrificed a Hecatomb; another Time, he ran naked out of the Bath, crying *I have found it*. *Diogenes*, when in his Tub, was respected by *Alexander*: He had the Resolution to go about with a Torch, looking out, as he said, for a Man. These philosophic Flights were admired by Antiquity; but the Manners of *Paris* would look upon them in a very different Light, at least they would not escape the Flirts and Curses of our Smarts.

In *France* any little Difference in Dress or Way of Living, sets us a staring: But the *Greeks*, who from the Infancy of the Nation, were no Strangers to Philosophy, never took upon them to censure the singular Dress and Living of the Philosophers, because such Things seemed

seemed to be originally connected with the national Virtue. Among the *Romans* this Circumstance was wanting, and possibly it is not to be found in *England*: There would be no End of relating the sublime Flights of their Philosophers. *Socrates* was, as it were, so possessed by Wisdom, that *Diogenes* used to call him a Frantic. *Ptolomy* forbade *Hegeſias* of *Cyrene* to declaim in his School on the Immortality of the Soul, lest his Dominions should be dispeopled by the Practice of the Philosopher's favourite Maxim, *whoever values Wisdom must love Death*. That among a People of their quick Sensations, Philosophy became a Passion, may be seen in the Lives of *Phocian*, though a Statesman, of *Anaxagoras* and a thousand others. Thus Philosophy, in its own Nature always cold and sterile, on Account of its Opposition to the Passions, suits with warm Tempers, where it becomes active and fertile: And no Genius is better adapted to Poetry than the *French*, by which its Irregularity is modified, and its Rants circumscribed by the Rules of Nature and the Laws of Decorum.

C H A P. X.

Honours paid to Philosophy.

IT must be owned that this Enthusiasm of the Philosophers did not want what to Science and Virtue is the strongest Incentive, I mean Honour. The Recesses and Studies of the Antients were so many Seminaries for the

highest Offices, and such strict Preparations generally afforded admirable Subjects.

In certain States of *Europe*, the whole Administration of Affairs is lodged with Magistrates or Placemen, who are both above consulting, on any Emergency, with retired Persons, who are often eminently learned and perspicacious ; whereas, among the *Greeks*, there was not an Affair of any Consequence which did not go through the Philosophers Hands.

The Philosopher is no private Person, was a Maxim every where as carefully inculcated, as it is disregarded or unknown in *France* ; though it be the only Resource for the Ignorance of a public Man. Among the *Greeks*, and even the modern Orientals, the Man of distinguished Learning and Wisdom is called *a Magistrate*, and they have several Treatises on the Magistracy of the private Person.

The People of the East and South, and all in general who retain the antient Custom of shutting up Women, continue also to honour Philosophers from this Principle, that next to Women they are the only Persons that can keep the Land from Barbarism. Thus they hold Women to be the most dangerous Enemies to Philosophy ; but on the other hand, a great Man has told us, and most truly, that it is the Misfortune of all Nations where Women were under Confinement, to be unsociable ; and really without them, what Sort of Creatures should we be ? virtuous, and no more.

To object the Example of the *Romans* against the Honour of Philosophy, is mistaking the Point.

Point. The Stoic Sect, it is true, obtained most generally among the *Romans*, as it did not decline the Bar nor public Offices: But the Philosophy most followed was that of *Plato*, on Account of Eloquence, without which, there was no rising to any considerable Preferment. These Sects the *Romans* preferred to Sciences of mere Speculation, which were the Delight of *Grecian* Curiosity. This is some regard shewn to Philosophy, yet is not this all; they paid the greatest Honours to the *Greeks*, and entertained them in their Houses: There was not a young Nobleman who did not visit *Greece*. Several Emperors invited them to their Courts as Counsellors, and for important Employments: In fine, their Works overflow with the most passionate Praises, of what they called *a lettered Ease*.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Faults of the Philosophers, which occasioned the Decay of Philosophy.

THE Corruption of Philosophy among the *Greeks* was owing to these three Faults; haranguing in the Baths, Portico's, and all public Places; the Itch of disputing on the first Principles; and their coveting Familiarity in the Houses of the Great: And the Case has been nearly the same in *England* and *France*.

Philosophy, which is the Soul of true Eloquence, did not escape those Damages to which all Art and Science is exposed; false Copies in the Thing itself, and in the Persons of the Phi-

losophers. The strong Taste for Eloquence at *Athens*, kept up two ill Qualities, highly dangerous to that little Republic, the Arrogance of the Orators, who were idolized by the People, and the Acrimony of the Sophists. The *Athenians*, like ourselves, delighted in attending the Bar and public Assemblies. These blustering Men, who, to curry favour with the People, had their Tongues always ready to move, or to promote such Laws as they knew would please, spoiled all the happy Effects which Philosophy was producing in those fine Dispositions. On the other hand, the Sophists had for their Auditors the young Fellows, and all the Idlers to a Man, which may be supposed to have made a great Number in the polite City of *Athens*, which considered itself as the Eye of *Greece*.

Another Vice still more dangerous, and was the Curiosity of the *Greeks*, which soon vitiated, by fine-spun Disputes, that very Philosophy which had undertaken to set them right. The Philosophers split into several Sects, foaming against each other on the first Principles of Morality; and the Government took no Cognizance of these bold Problems: The Academy publicly taught the Uncertainty of the first Principles, and even laid them before the *Roman* Senate, but it was not long before that wise Assembly ordered them to be gone, and never more to set Foot in *Rome*.

The Wits of Antiquity were the *Epicureans*; and these were the Favourites of the Quality, every Governor of a Province had two or three in

in his Retinue: These and the *Cynics* openly made a Jest of Oracles. But whilst, by a singular Contradiction, their metaphysical Pyrrhonism was tolerated, it was prohibited by the fearful; and on some Occasions, profane Words were severely punished, except those spoken on the Stage, which the Infatuations of the *Athenians* had set up as an Asylum for Impiety and Licentiousness.

In fine, the third and chief Cause of the Discredit into which Philosophers fell, was the intriguing Spirit and Ambition of the *Greeks*. Some by an Excess of Indolence totally sequestered themselves from all public Busines; others; by a strange Metamorphosis, betook themselves to Trades. They insinuated them into all the great Houses of *Rome*, so that loud Complaints were made of their Ascendency, and that there was no waiting on a Person of Distinction, without being interrupted by *Thrasibus*, *Protagenes*, *Erymanthus*, *Appollonius*, &c. They presided in the Clubs of Wits, which was another Point of Honour; and what crowned their Dignity was, that the Taste of the Ladies was under their Direction. *Juvenal* sums up all in his *funt Omnia Græce*.

Lucian also makes a public Sale of the several Sects of Philosophers, and lays open the whole Ridicule of their Corruptions. The Depravation of the Mind was soon followed by Pedantry; and the same ludicrous Author, in his Banquet of the *Lapithæ*, lashes with the smartest Irony, the frivolous and coarse Wranglings, the Ran-

cour and Self-conceit of these pretended Teachers of Wisdom.

However, an external Observance of their Instituies imposed on People. I have always thought our first Monks, who were also *Greeks*, to be derived from the Philosophers, and the rather, as the most illustrious in the first Ages of the Church had been of the Stoic School; but Persons enlightened and animated by the true Religion, were authorized to devote themselves to Solitude. As for the rest of Mankind, they are exceeding few who are to be indulged in such a Taste, and from them ought to be expected very sublime Effects of their Retirement.

All that several antient Philosophers mean by their Solitariness, was to be more at Liberty to inveigh against the Vices of the Great, and the Ignorance of the Vulgar; yet did not the *Greeks* refuse them their good Word; and *Ciceron* himself, though a *Roman*, does not pass any Censure upon them in his Offices, certainly from his vast Respect for the *Greeks*. Of this Kind, *England* has great Plenty, *Spain* is full of them, and every genuine Oriental is such. In *France* this Kind of Life would be looked upon both as insupportable and of no Utility; and herein the *Greeks* and *French* seem to me equally out in their Judgment, both running into Extremes.

C H A P. XII.
Of modern Philosophers.

IT has already been noticed that *Asia* swarms with *Anchorets* and others, whose Profession is continual Meditation ; yet all these Myriads of Speculatists afford but very few Philosophers. First, all Travellers relate, and even the eastern People of any Rank above the Vulgar acknowledge it, that these Monks are mostly Hypocrites or Madmen : All these *Santons* and *Dervishes*, who make a Show of themselves with Tygers Skins thrown about them, dancing with a Sabre at their Side, inflicting Pains on themselves before the People, and in the Evening stealing away to the Cells of public Women ; all the *Bonzes* of *China* dragging Chains thirty Feet long ; most of those who retire into the Mountains ; all this Generation are despised by the Government, watched in every petty Offence, and severely punished.

The only reputed Philosophers are certain Doctors respectable for their Manners and Science, learned in the Law, and very rigid Casuists ; but on the other Hand, these refined Doctors taking the whole Alcoran in a sublime and allegorical Sense, the Government excludes them from Employments ; and if ever it allows them to teach publicly, it is under Restrictions. The Ministers of State consult them on Emergencies ; but in other Respects, think that a Doctrine so sublime and so chaste is too strong

strong for the People, contrary to the Increase of Mankind, and possibly to the Action necessary to Society. But in general it may be said, that the true Reason why they have so few Philosophers among them, is that Pride so natural to the Orientals.

The divine *Farniente* of *Italy*, the supine Life of *Rome*, of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, are in every Body's Mouth. Music, Sights, Decorations, Walks, Galleries of Pictures, are the Amusements of the *Italians*. They have dignified the fine Arts with the Name of *Virtue*, with the same Justice as the *Greeks* had bestowed on them the Name of *Wisdom*; for, in reality, there is no Difference betwixt true Science and Virtue. They who excel in sublime Arts may be worthy of the magnificent Title of *Virtuosi*, and a Place among Philosophers; but never will the *Farniente* of *Italy*, nor that Multitude of useleſs Lowngers, whose Talent does not rise above that of a *Connoisseur*, and for which they are indebted to their Idleness, be clasped among Philosophers.

The Posterity of true Philosophers, who in one Hand held *Archimedes*'s Cylinder, and with the other the Helm of Affairs, is now almost extinct; or if it survives, if the true antient Taste of Philosophy is any where to be seen, it is only among the *English*: Intent on the great Concern of Liberty, and the System of universal Commerce; ever in Colonies, on the Sea, or in Parliament; though living in a Climate very far inferior to that of the Antients, amidst

amidst many Agitations, amidst warm Discussions of Matters of Trade and Government, yet still they husband a philosophic Leisure: Their Exterior is exactly that which Philosophy itself, were she to chuse one, would have prescribed; free, pensive and peculiar to that Nation. The antient Honours, and the Freedom of Philosophy, revive in the Magnanimity of its Manners, and its Encouragement of Arts and Sciences.

Plato's Definition of a Philosopher is admirable; A Man of Quality brought up in a fine Leisure. He certainly here had an Eye to himself; his high Birth and Sentiments exactly corresponding with the Idea. Would it favour too much of Partiality and Prejudice, to apply the principal Lineaments of this Portraiture to the true *French Philosophers*?

After a strict Comparison of Works with the Manners of different Nations, it must be acknowledged, and Foreigners admit it, that Reason is sometimes seen in the *French* to such a Degree of Exquisiteness, as forms the most perfect Model of Virtue; whereas the Enthusiasm of the southern Nations, carries it beyond its just Limits; and the *English* and northern People disfigure it by melancholy Caprices. The *French* well-bred Man possesses Reason in all its Purity, and accompanied with every Elegancy.

The *French* Sage is the confessed Head of Philosophers. From the Genius of the Nation it is owing, that the World again sees that

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Sect of Philosophers, which *Cicero* so agreeably delineates in his *Offices*, when he says, They are Men whose Fortune is not saved nor augmented by a sordid Parsimony, but by a decent Oeconomy; who live easy, in an ingenious and polite Leisure; who do not decline Business from a superstitious Disdain, or a savage Insensibility, but are ready at their Country's Call; their Purses and Talents open to the Necessities of the State and of their Friends; their leisure Time divided betwixt the Delights of Society and Study. What would he have said, had he seen all these Advantages further adorned by the *French* Graces, which in the Man of Merit are neither wanton nor giddy, but like Flowers upon a grave Stuff: In a Word, like those Graces, to which *Plato* would have a Philosopher sacrifice. *Cicero* adds, that such Philosophers may live not only with Decency, and in a Degree of Elevation, but even in a Manner answering all Duties, and highly useful to Society.

C H A P. XIII.

Of Philosophy in itself, and first of the Oriental.

I Often confound the Antients with the Orientals; who, indeed, with respect to Arts and Politics, may well be called the Antients. Though Morality has generally taken up the Substance of their Thoughts, yet their Progress therein bears no Proportion to their Enquiries. Their very first Step was wrong; they overlooked

looked or mistook the Dignity of Man: An Inadvertence which, from the most antient Monarchies, among which *China* is to be reckoned, has over-spread the East and South.

Man's Excellency, under this Ignorance of these People, introduced the Right of Slavery, and stretched it even beyond the Occasions of War, and the Necessity of securing distant Settlements. Slaves also were cruelly punished among most of the *Grecians*, and even among the *Romans*: The Establishment of Captivity, on such slight Grounds as a fortuitous Sale and Exchange of Commodities, does very little Honour to the natural Philosophy of those Nations. I cannot bear the Expressions of Respect, the Genuflections and Adorations used in the East from the Beginning. The humane Reader is shocked at the Fate of besieged Places, which was always extremely cruel, even among the *Greeks*. The Corruption in Portions was amazing, the Interest coarsely expressed, and their Management of Women, who were looked upon only as relatively to the State, was wrong even in Policy; and, moreover, inhuman to the last Degree.

From this primordial Ignorance of Man's Nature proceeded Despotism, by which all the Correctives of the antient *Chinese* and *Egyptian* Sages were rendered of no Effect. *China's* only Expedient for its Preservation has been like that of a petty Republic, to interdict its Ports to all Foreigners. The Excess of *Chinese* Corruption is what their greatest Admirers do not deny:

deny: The Missionaries are unanimous, that the Laws are not put in Execution; that even Civil Justice is grossly sold, without the Veil of Artifice, and that any Punishment is bought off by Presents, which are carried openly: In fine, that the *Chineſe*, after trying their Skill among themselves, over-reach all the Traders in *Asia*; nothing is more common than to use false Weights, and this is thought a Trifle beneath the Notice of the Government: Superlatively inventive in their Revenge, and the Ceremonial Rites the only Laws which are punctually attended to, manifest them to be the most abject Slaves of all the *Asiatics*.

Of all the Nations in the World, none affords a juſter and fuller View of Despotism than *China*. It is an immemorial Custom in the Empire, that the Emperor is ſtiled the Father of the People. A Mandarin may advise the Sovereign, and he is obliged to read over his Remonſtrances. The Method of compiling their History is peculiar to that Nation; the Office, whose Province it is, being never opened whilst the Prince's Family enjoys the Throne. The Laws are all ſo far on the Prince's Side, that 'tis his Interest to obſerve them: In fine, few or no Revolts occur in their History, and these in ſome measure justified by the Excesses of the Princes, who had as it were thrown up the Reins of the State. Extraordinary Tributes are ſeldom imposed; and every Year one or two Provinces have an Interval of Quiet, being exempted from the Land-Tax.

On the other hand, Children are taught the most sacred Respect for their Parents, whom they are obliged to support. The *Chinese* keep within their Houses during their three Years Mourning ; the Emperor himself wears it with the utmost Precision, and his Solitude lasts twenty-seven Days. There is a yearly Festival for the breaking up or ploughing of Lands, and the Emperor, by way of ennobling Agriculture, gives the first Stroke. Every where one meets with Colleges and Academies : The Law admits none but learned Men to the Magistracy. The Youth have the classical Books by heart. In short, Morality seems to be the Centre of every thing.

Yet are the *Chinese* enormously corrupt : So far from conferring on them the glorious Name of Philosophers, all observing Travellers represent them as a Gang of Hypocrites. Empires are governed by two Sorts of Laws, the moral and civil : The Observance of the first relates to Honour, but Honour is incompatible with Despotism, which is not less repugnant to the civil Law, its Nature being impatient of any Controul.

The Despotism of *China*, though civilized, according to the Expression of an ingenious and solid Writer, an Empire which for above four thousand Years observes a more exact Recluseness than our religious Houses, has not been able to bring the Hearts of its Subjects to a true Morality : What then can one think of this Kind of Government ? After these several

veral Particulars, is it not the mildest Censure of *Chinese* Wisdom, to declare this Empire full of moral Philosophy, but not of that Kind of Philosophers ?

Farther, the *Chinese* moral Philosophy is manifestly promotive of that Industry and Activity, so requisite to the Welfare of Society. But in *India*, and all over the East, except the few Nations that follow the antient *Persian* Religion, which strongly enjoins Tillage, all the *Mahometans*, given up to a speculative Philosophy, the Parent of Indolence, place Wisdom in perfect Repose : Besides, being oppressed by the Government, and enervated by the Seraglio, all the Sentences engraved in their Apartments are levelled only at the Folly of building new Houses, purchasing Farms, or forming Projects : So that the Philosophers of these Countries are mostly little better than so many Idlers.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Genius of the Orientals and Chinese, in the other Branches of Philosophy.

AN Inclination to the speculative Sciences has in all Times been natural to the Orientals. *Chardin* writes, that neither Marriage, a large Family, nor Poverty, are Obstacles to Study among the *Perians* ; it is no Shame for a bearded Scholar to be seen going to College with his Ink-horn and Paper-Cafe. The first Quality in the Kingdom glory in the Name of

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Student. Authorities are of no Weight with them, except in Religion ; they have almost all our *Greek Authors, Hippocrates, Galen, Plato, Aristotle, Ptolomy, &c.* The largest Libraries seldom exceed four hundred Volumes.

No where is *Physic* in higher Esteem, and no where more unknown, than in the East : And what is still more, the Idol of *Perſia* is a Philosopher, as the mercurial Man is the Hero of the *French Genius*. *Monchtebec*, which is the Name of this learned Personage, besides a perfect Observance of the ceremonial Law, must be Master of all the Sciences ; he must know seventy-two Disciplines, besides those of his own Invention, and must be held in a Veneration beyond any other Person. All the Colleges of *Iſpahan* are endowed, and the Students in their due Time are promoted to Benefices : From this Esteem of Learning, which has always been kept up in the East, it is, that Noblemen, when under Disgrace, easily take up with the Employment of public Teachers.

During the Darknes in which, *Greece* excepted, all *Europe* lay involved, the *Arabians* had cultivated Philosophy, Astrology, and the Mathematics ; not neglecting Politenes, the Virtues of Humanity, certajn Elegancies, and even Gallantry : The Mildnes and Respect which they observed towards Women, was of great Advantage to their Improvement in genteel Morality, and for which we are indisputably beholden to them.

The antient *Orientals*, the *Phenicians*, and the *Egyptians*, passed for the Inventors of all speculative Sciences. To what then can be imputed the weak Progresses of these People in Studies of their own Growth? most certainly only to their Government. The Poison of antient Despotism was corrected by the aforementioned excellent Preservatives: But modern Despotism is ignorant and rude; all its natural Ferocity returned upon it.

However lavish the Missionaries in their first Transport have been of their Encomiums on *China*, yet is the same Inferiority to be met with there. But in order to fix this Deficiency on the Genius of the Nation or Government, it will be necessary briefly to consider the Discipline of their Studies, and in what Manner they encourage Arts and Sciences.

At first Sight, the Solemnity speaks the oriental and despotic Genius: The Traveller thinks himself arrived in the Temple of the Virtues and the Region of the Sciences. The despotic Prince, if he happens to be virtuous, may, and his Power encourages him to it, in Imitation of the Princes of *Perſia*, carry the Recompence of Virtue to its highest Pitch; but the Government itself ever retains natural Malignity, or Weakness, and always terminates in Slavery and Ignorance.

The Court of Rites assigns great Honours to the Learned during their Life, and after Death erects costly Mausoleums at the Expence of the Empire, whose Thanks, according to Custom, they

they receive thus in the Tomb. Sometimes Trophies have been raised to Men of little Note, and Temples dedicated to virtuous Maidens. The Doctorate enjoy very considerable Privileges ; the Examinations for that Degree are only at *Pekin*, the Court having itinerant Commissioners for the Batchelors. It is further said, that both these and the Doctors are confined in Cells, without any Books, and strictly debarred the Sight of any Person, till the Examination be over.

Upon looking into their Histories we find their first Emperors ordering some to settle and regulate the Cycle of the Sun, and others to make Instruments for celestial Observations. The Emperors themselves often look over the Calendar, and the Princes of the Blood are employed to calculate and arrange it. The Mandarines and the Governors are constantly chosen from among the Men of Letters ; Gravity and Speculation are delineated in the national Physiognomy.

But herein the Ministry fall into palpable yet inevitable Contradictions ; with one Hand they profusely deal out Honours to the Learned ; and with the other, confine the Studies of Youth to the classical Books with Notes, and a Collection of old Poems ; instead of extending it by Intercourse with other People, and the Admission of foreign Sciences.

The *Chinese* Policy, full of that Vanity and Mistrust, which are as natural to that Nation, as a blind Respect for Antiquity, and punctu-

ally confining Youth within the Circle of doctrinal Books, brings a Languor on Genius, and even gives it the most prejudicial Taint, I mean a Fondness of Paraphrase and Comments. The Court of *Pekin*, from its Superstition and Timidity, has the immediate Inspection of all Colleges and Seminaries of Learning: As the Calendar indicates the fortunate or unfortunate Days, it is made a State Affair by that wretched Contradiction in a despotic Government, where nothing is in its Place, neither Liberty nor Submission.

In general, Princes have gone no farther, than the little which is necessary to direct the People in the several Parts of Agriculture, which is regulated by the Knowledge of the Seasons and the Lunations of the solar Year. Far from exciting the Sagacity or Disquietude of Curiosity, they have rather applied themselves to the giving their Subjects that Turn of Mind which renders Men docile and obedient.

It is a current Opinion in *China*, that to lay out the Faculties in Things of mere Speculation, is lost Labour: The Connection of learned Speculations with the Opulence and Prosperity of a State, they are entirely unacquainted with; and what's the Result? They have been hammering at the Sciences these four thousand Years, yet not one Man has been found to go to any considerable Depth in them. Their Calendar, which has always been one of their most important Concerns, with all their Scholarship, was erroneous to the last Degree, till the Missionaries

sionaries taught them better; and indeed, what Astronomy was to be expected, where so much as the first Elements of Geography and Cosmography are unknown? The Physicians, even those of *China*, have no great Compass of Knowledge, nor are they the profoundest Reasoners; they have only their Receipts for Distempers, at which they give a tolerable guess by the Pulse and Symptoms in the Head.

Further, even the Doctorate, which is the Summit of literary Honours, and the Initiation to Offices, is not a very long-winded Business; many being capped at the Age of twenty-five, or thirty: They immerse themselves in the closest Study, to stuff their Memory with their antient Books, which they call *Xing*, select Sentences, and certain important historical Passages.

Thus, as is observed by the Author of the Objections mentioned in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, it is certain that they are not to be compared to us. The mathematical and physical Sciences, since the Times of the Egyptians and Greeks, have been cultivated among us only at Intervals, and those very short, in Comparison of the Devastations of Barbarism and Ignorance, whereby their Course was stopped, and even all Remembrance of them extinguished. Under all the Disadvantages of Obscurity, Penury and Exile, our Sciences are superior to those of *China*, though for so many Ages shining with Affluence and Power, and even seated in the Throne. Thus, it seems to me, that the Imperfections of the Sciences is to be imputed

to the natural Contradictions of Despotism, and to the written Language, which the Pride of the Learned and the *Chinese* Policy would never shorten nor improve ; the *Chinese* exceeding the *Egyptians* in Hieroglyphics.

Metaphysics itself has taken no higher a Flight. The Missionaries agree, that they are awkward at abstract Ideas, paraphrasing continually, repeating them, and darkening them ; having further incumbered this Science with Generations of Deities, and pompous Ideas, which are quite unintelligible.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Philosophy of the Greeks and Romans.

MY Verdict perhaps, will not be admitted ; yet after perusing the finest antient Treatises of Morality, I do not find in those Philosophers the neat, precise, and delicate Ideas of the Modern ; for Instance, *Socrates* himself, than whom none has chose nobler Themes, is but imperfect in these Qualities, continually faulty in vague Sentences, general Reasonings, Divisions, Subdivisions, Definitions, Redundancies and Jejuneness ; all *Grecian* Defects.

In *Plato's* *Dialogue of the Immortality of the Soul*, one would imagine *Socrates* soaring up to the Deity, but 'tis rather by a happy Enthusiasm, and a Grandeur of Imagination natural to the *Greeks*, than by a Chain of clear and solid Principles. Fables, Allegories, and Stories every where break in upon metaphysical Reasoning,

soning. They had great Metaphysicians, *Aristotle, Zeno, Carneades, Epicurus, &c.* We owe all we have in this Science to the antient *Sceptics*; but an imaginative Kind of Metaphysics were most in Vogue. The *Greeks* had a strong Conceit of Angels and Genii, and on these Essences turned the greatest Part of their Metaphysics. This is evident from the Works of the Philosophers in the Courts of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Julian*, and the primitive Heresies. The Cloisters of *Constantinople* rang with Disputes on the Claims of the *Latins*, and on Angels, at the very Time that the *Turks* entered the City.

The *Greeks*, it is undeniable, were possessed of a subtle Genius; yet they had few good *Logicians*, I mean close and exact, scrupulous in the Choice of Proofs, without the Varnish of Similes and Allegories; and, for this, I appeal to all who are ever so little read in ecclesiastic or civil Antiquity. The Proofs are interspersed or rather scattered in their Works, drowned in the Length of the Turns, and the Harmony of the Phrases, which they chiefly affected; and to this I chiefly ascribe their most prominent Weakness. To adapt a Turn of Phrase now familiar in the World, they rather trespassed against the philosophic Spirit, than against Philosophy. However, several other Nations come under this Criticism, as the *Orientals* and *Italians*, their *Logic* being alike faulty, and their Turn of Stile in this Point not dissimilar.

The *Romans* seem to have had less Advantage than others. As to this Spirit of Inquiry, the

exact Sciences never were well known among them. The only Monument of *Roman* Dialectic, of any Consideration, is the jurisprudential Dispute betwixt the *Sabinians* and *Proculeians*. The Sectarian Spirit Philosophy first received from the *Greeks*, who were of that Cast in every Thing; but the *Roman* Controversies never were like those of the Schools, nor degenerated into those Libels and Clamours which filled the Walks of *Athens*, and the Cloisters of *Constantinople*. *Plato's* Philosophy gained the general Taste by its Eloquence, which was of absolute Necessity among the *Romans*, who, different from the *Greeks*, preferred Titles and Offices to speculative Studies. The good Emperors had admitted Philosophers into the Administration, with the Title of *Ordinary Magistrates*, employing them both in the Provinces and at *Rome*. After this Age was elapsed, they were again admitted at *Caracalla's* Court, but only to gratify the Curiosity of the Emperor and the Ladies, and sometimes they might be consulted as Men of Knowledge and Genius; but these Philosophers were mostly *Grecians*. Metaphysics never obtained much in *Rome*, and what Remains are come down to us of any such Thing, are only Translations from the *Greek*. This is in general the Spirit of the two Philosophies.

Pythagoras may be said to be the Author of Philosophy in *Italy*, and in *Greece* it wanted a certain Lustre till the Time of *Socrates*; so that to avoid Mistakes, it behoves us to examine the
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Titles and Qualities attributed to the antient Philosophers, and to the Inventors of Arts and Sciences, such as *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, and many others, whose Names are become consecrated by the Revolutions of Ages.

The first Monuments of Arts were lost, but the Names of the Inventors remained and flourished in the highest Veneration, though the Degree to which antient Discoveries had been carried, could not be stated with any Exactness. It has been shewn in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres*, that the History of antient Music is full of incredible Traditions and surprizing Cures, which exactly coincide with the Times of the Origin of Music, when it must naturally have been but very imperfect. This Instance teaches us what to think of the rest. The Sensibility and Wants of Antiquity, which besides could have no comparative Ideas, inclined it to be very zealous for its Traditions, and to the warmest Respect for Philosophers or the Inventors of Arts, even to Deification.

C H A P. XVI.

On modern Philosophy, Metaphysics, Logic, and School-Divines.

ARISTOTLE's Philosophy had for several Ages been taught in the Schools of the *Arabiāns*, by whom, though but Smatterers in the *Greek*, his Books were translated: It was also this Philosopher's Fate to be turned into *Latin* in the darker Age, and consequently had

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as little Justice done him. The Subtilties of the *Arabians*, and the Ignorance of the *Latin* Translators, infected the Schools with a logical and metaphysical Jargon. Whilst the Bishop had an Eye over the Studies of the Chapters, they were not amiss for the Times ; these Studies were besides annexed to the ecclesiastic Ministry. It must be by, and in Action that found Philosophy is maintained.

But this Custom ceasing, a great Number of Scholastics of all *European* Nations, Men of great Learning, Piety and Sagacity, were seen to spend themselves in Chimeras or precipitate themselves into an Abyssis of logical and impenetrable Questions. Retired into Monasteries, seldom seen out of their School, led by Choice, not obliged by Function to the reading of the Fathers, Histories, the Canons and Councils, they never could be brought to a more just Taste. Proportions, Sympathies, Antipathies, Horrors of a Vacuum, Relations, Comparisons taken from the elementary World, were greedily snatched from the *Arabians* by the *Spaniards* and *Italians*. They were for finding throughout the whole Universe a musical Harmony ; the very System from whence Magic had formerly sprung ; which now also made its second Appearance. Philosophy cloathed itself in uncouth Words, and a cloudy Stile. Names and Definitions of Things were taken for the Thing itself : In fine, the Schools were overrun with the Spinosities of Logic and Metaphysic : Thus all seemed irretrievably lost, and

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Darkness overspread the Face of the whole Earth.

Upon this fatal Signal, the Scholastics of all *European* Nations, seized with a sudden furious Itch, and as it were inebriated with Reason, carried the Ardor of disputing even to Madness : They plunged themselves into chimerical Subtilties, vain and quintessential Ideas, a Multiplicity of frivolous Distinctions, and launched out far beyond the Limits in which the antient Philosophers had confined themselves. The antient Philosophy became most wretchedly absorbed in the Reveries of the *Grecian* Monks, and the modern was almost stifled in its Birth by the *Latin* Monks.

At length, in the Beginning of the sixteenth Century, true Philosophy began to dawn ; religious Controversies prepared Men's Minds, and Order and Method, for the first Time, appeared with all its Splendor, in the Works of the incomparable *Descartes*. To enlarge on the Progress of modern Philosophy in all its Parts, would be of very little Use ; but I doubt whether all the Tracks of the philosophic Spirit, which has mixed itself with the Spirit of Poetry, and often not to its Prejudice, have been duly observed.

In Reality, our Poets have acquired a very shining Advantage over the Antients, by the Observation of inward Nature, that is, of those imperceptible Motions, which start up in the Soul, and vary every Instant. All this indicates that the descriptive Genius is on our Side. In this Talent *Ovid* and *Corneille* excelled : *Virgil*

goes no farther than the general Symptoms of Passions. *Ovid*, *Corneille*, *Tasso*, and others, enter into all the Details, attend to the least Incidents of Passion, even to a Smile, a Look, an unguarded Word, a Motion, a Desire ; in fine, every Circumstance relative to the Heart : They search the inmost Recesses of Nature, for those Inequalities, Fluctuations, and Inconsistencies so frequent in the Soul, when divided betwixt two Passions. This Analysis of the Sentiments is no more than a Consequence of that Spirit of Enquiry and Speculation, by which the Moderns have distinguished themselves.

Virgil is incomparable in the soft, melancholy and continued Passions ; but *Ovid* and *Tasso* have succeeded in the other Kind. In the animated Descriptions of these Poets, the Reader imagines he sees the Passions, the several Motions of the Soul impressing themselves alternately on the Countenance, with the Rapidity of successive Flashes of Lightning. Our French Poets have equally excelled in the Anatomy of the human Heart, in those Distinctions of Sentiments, so frequent, and indeed too often repeated, in their Tragedies and Romances.

Certainly, nothing can be more obvious than the Analysis and Method, which distinguish the modern Philosophy from that of the Antients, and the argumentative Books from those of Grecian Composition : The latter often give full Swing to their Imagination. The Art of Reflection and Expression, in the full Precision of

of Diction and Ideas, did not begin till the se-
venteenth Century.

That Method is of modern Invention, is so true, that the Schools, even in the barbarous Ages, had a Glimpse of it: Parables, Allegories, and Metaphors, with which *Grecian* Antiquity was so infatuated, withdrew into their native Climates. These Allegories and Emblems were faulty in a two-fold Sense; disguising Truth, and unfit for expressing delicate or complex Ideas: The modern Mind is not given so much to Garrulity, as the Heart of the ancient *Greeks*; and the most positive Sticklers for Antiquity acknowledge, that in Logic, Metaphysics and Physics, we have been our own Masters, without any Help of theirs.

Even in the Science of Physics, our Superiority is the Fruit of the Discernment of our Philosophers, avoiding the Rocks of Systems on which the Antients commonly split. All the Academies of *Europe*, busied in the Immensity of Experiments, on which they ground all their Researches, wisely evade the Time of forming an universal System of Nature. In fine, the common Philosophy of these Times has nothing of that Heap of Opinions, which gives the Reader Pain to find in the Writings of the greatest Men of Antiquity, and which Dr. *Brown* has collected in his Treatise of *Vulgar Errors*.

Amidst all the Superiority which *Europe* so justly claims, it is not to be thought that all the several Nations, of which it consists, are upon

upon a Level in Philosophy. Judicial Astrology has prevailed among the *Italians*, who, since the Beginning of the sixteenth Century, have communicated the Infection to all *Europe*; and even now a strange Curiosity helps to keep it up. It is a Fact known to all, who have any Acquaintance with literary History, that the fullest Collections of Magic in Libraries are *Italian* Labours, and placed under the Titles of the Authors of that Nation: However, in that Country, as in *Spain*, the Vivacity of Genius, and the Sallies of Curiosity, are bridled by the Terrors of the Inquisition.

The *Spaniards* have given into all the Excesses of the false Mystics; or rather, it is to them that we are beholden for all this spiritual Philosophy, all these Metaphysics of the Senses, and Imagination. That there have been glorious Lights among them, such as Saint *Theresa*, &c. I own, and with the Church I venerate the mystical Saints which *Spain* has produced. But in the other Branches of Philosophy, we don't find that the *Spaniards* have any thing like the Accuracy and Fire of the *English*, the *French*, or even of the *Germans*. Their Logic and Metaphysic is no other than the School-Philosophy; and their Morality, like that of the *Italians*, is vitiated by Allegory.

In fine, 'tis only in Action, and thro' Action, that Moral Philosophy supports itself. The Manners of *Spain* tend to Melancholy and Remissness, and those of *Italy* to Tranquillity and an ingenious Leisure.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Manners, and their principal Divisions.

THE principal Division of Manners includes the antient and modern ; after these, the settled and variable ; lastly, the public, or Manners of the State ; and the private, or Manners of Individuals.

The antient Manners are the natural Manners, as described in the Holy Scriptures, in *Homer*, and the Writers of those Times. Their Simplicity, to which our Customs are so opposite, is a sublime Simplicity ; and in which we often meet with a Magnificence which shames any thing of ours, as in the Right of Hospitality. When they entertained Persons, under whose Roof they had been lodged on a Journey, they have been known to make a Feast for the whole City, exclusive of the Presents usually made to the Guests. It would be little better than trifling to run through all the Descriptions of those Manners, of which some Vestiges are still visible in the Country Life, among them whose constant Residence it is, and especially when at a Distance from any large Cities.

The second Class of the Division treats of the Fixedness or Mutability of Manners. It is undeniably evident, that the natural Manners have been better maintained in the East than in *Europe* ; where, indeed, they can hardly

ly be laid to have ever taken Root. There are several Causes of this Permanency.

The first is the Climate: That a fine Climate, by the Mildness of the Seasons, the Luxuriancy of Nature, the uninterrupted Succession of the same Delights, fits the Natives to its Usages, is not to be doubted; whereas the Inhabitants of cold and barren Countries, seek a Supply by War and Depredations, like the Barbarians; or procure themselves Diversion by Art and Contrivance, like the Inhabitants of the North. They combat the harsh Climate with Usages, allaying its Rigours with large Draughts of spirituous Liquors and peculiar Diversions, or avoid them by foreign Voyages. Among ourselves, our Summer Living is much more simple than in Winter. The same Difference is observable in different Climates.

Most of the eastern Cities contain Gardens and Parks, where the Owners loiter away their Life. We are told by Travellers, that the Orientals seldom meet but about Trade and Business; so that the Deflection from a Simplicity of Manners, in the western Parts of *Europe*, is partly caused by the tedious melancholy Winters, which drive us to Town, and there occasion frequent Meetings, which are generally so many Seminaries of Levity, Licentiousness, Envy, Revenge, Caprice, and every sensual and turbulent Passion. This I take to be the chief physical Cause of the Duration of the *Asiatic* Institutes.

Several

Several moral Causes have also contributed to it : First, the ritual Government, which, in the East, has more or less preserved its Authority ; Secondly, the Recluseness of Women, they being usually the *Primum mobile* of any Alteration of Manners : The Town, the noblest Theatre for Beauty and Gallantry, the Residence of Pomp, the Palace of Revelry, is naturally their Element.

So that Men, being detained in their Seraglio by a Multitude of alluring Objects, are little inclined to any Change ; and if they were, it would be impracticable : The Women, strictly confined, are accessible only to their Husbands. The Freedom of Women in *France*, the Pleasure of their Company, and Hope of their Favour, keep Men in a perpetual Motion ; so that the whole Day they shall be from home, and without any Call of Business, their Spirits too all the while in a Ferment : This to an Oriental seems inconceivable, as Travellers relate.

Other Supports of the Oriental Manners are that Oeconomy, or rather Avarice, which is natural in hot Climates ; the Temperance and the Sloth common in these Nations, and to all that are in the same Situation, as the *Spaniards*, who are not less steady and attached both to their Manners and their Ceremonial.

Simple as their Manners are, and tho' the natural Effect of Simplicity of Manners be a Serenity of Mind, yet there is nothing more taken Notice of by all Travellers, than the

universal Melancholy of the Orientals, of which their Government, and the Recluseness of Women can be the only Causes. Their Princes being daily alarmed with bloody Revolutions, keep a strict Watch over the Manners, Discourses and Assemblies of the People; their very public Festivals wear the Face of Terror and Slavery. The *Bairan* among the *Turks*, the Great Mogol's Birth-day, the Equinoxes in *Perſia*, are riotous Holydays. There is a Kind of Taste in the *Ottoman* Entertainments, particularly in the Order and Dresses of the Cavalcades: But Travellers could discern a Want of real Satisfaction; 'tis nothing but a frantic Populace shewing by their Excesses, Debaucheries, Gesticulations, and convulsive Motions, that they are broke loose; a Mirth suitable to Slaves, who have turned the Caprice of their Sovereign to their own Diversion.

This was seen at the Entertainment given at the Circumcision of *Amurath* in 1582, the most magnificent ever heard of; for it cost the Sultan no less than Thirty Millions, and all perhaps only to tire himself and his Subjects; whereas a little Club at *Paris* communicates the most lively Joy to every Member of it: Besides, the Substance of it was no more than Specimens of all the several Trades in *Constantinople* performed before the Sultanas, and in the most hazardous and even frightful Vaultings and Balancings, intermixed with Pantomimes. In these exalted Talents, the *Indian* Performers excel the *Perſians*, and those of

Italy

Italy are not comparable to the *Turkish*. Formerly those of *Alexandria* out-did the *Greeks*. The more despotic a Government, the more the People are enervated, and the more perfect these despicable Entertainments : They rise on the Ruins of Liberty and Fortitude.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of State-Manners. Of public and private Manners.

THE State may be said to have its Manners ; that is, Maxims of Conduct, and Inclinations to favourite Virtues. *Roman Poverty* was, as hath been shewn, a forced Virtue in its Origine, but afterwards became a State-Virtue, even when it was no longer the Virtue of private Persons ; so that the sumptuary Laws, which reached even to Feasts, continued in Force six hundred Years. *Rome*, even when the Times were grown extremely corrupt, kept up its Reputation abroad. In the Affair of the *Numantines*, the Senate passed a Vote becoming all the Magnanimity of the first Times. The Answers of *Sylla* to *Mithridates* are universally known ; as is the Delicacy of *Sertorius* for the Dominions and the Honour of the Republic, and a thousand other Instances equally commendable. It was only from a republican Genius, that Rebels, and Men of lawless Ambition, could derive those Principles, to which the *Romans* so often owed their Safety : They durst not, in the Face of

the World, divest themselves of the *Roman* Spirit, and violate the Manners of the State. The Vulgar, the Soldier, &c. have no Manners or Virtues properly inherent in them; therefore some general Virtue must be added as an Expedient. The *Frenchman's* Guide is blind Honour; the *English* take Fire at the Name of Liberty, as the *German* does at that of the Empire: The *Turk* is animated by the Name of a God, whom he knows not.

Let us now produce another Example of this two-fold Virtue, taken from the *Greeks*. At *Athens*, private Persons, no less than the State, enjoyed the natural Fruits of Peace in Shews, Dances, and Entertainments. All that the Republic of *Sparta* sacrificed in its own Name for the most important Victory, was nothing more than a Cock, whilst every Individual gave himself up to the wildest Joy. These two famous Republics, conformably to the Sects of their Philosophers, in Morality as well as in Eloquence, cultivated opposite Branches: *Sparta*, both in its Language and Deportment, affected the Grave and Severe; whereas the *Athenians* preferred a Mixture of the Sublime and the Ornamental.

As to public, in Contrast to private Manners, the republican Assemblies afford us the most sensible Example of it; for the Manners of the People, dispersed or within their Houses, must be carefully distinguished from the Manners of the People met in a Body. When assembled, they account Liberty their Inheritance, their

their Patrimony ; and this always gives a Kind of acrid Turn to the Temper, and produces Debates, full of Invectives, betwixt different Parties. *Aristophanes* and *Theophrastus* abound with Raillery on the Rudeness of their State-Assemblies. Nothing can be more dissonant to our Manners, than the virulent Disputes betwixt *Eschius* and *Demosthenes* ; and *Cæsar* and *Cato* frequently gave each other very scurilous Language in the Senate-House ; so that what we are told of the *Athenian* and *Roman* Politeness is not to be looked for in the public Assemblies ; there every Person acts and speaks on political Principles ; and of this Truth the Licentiousness of the Bar affords a very sensible Representation.

The Rites of the *Chinese* are real State-Manners, rather than Virtues. Gravity in public is carried to Excess, and Freedom in private to Indecency : At any grand Entertainments, the Dishes are served up in Cadence, according to the Rules and Proportion of the Measure : In Visits of Ceremony, the Form of the Conversation, the Position of the Body, and the Gestures, are all prescribed. It is easily seen that such a Constraint would soon put an End to all Intercourse, and must necessarily produce a Contradiction betwixt the public and private Manners. The Choice of Manners, provided they be sound, and consistent with the public Welfare, should in a large State be left to the Subjects.

I shall close this Digression on the general Spirit of Manners, with two Documents ; of which the first is, that the Knowledge of the human Heart is chiefly to be deduced from those People, who live openly in a daily and free Sociableness.

The *Grecian* and Oriental Kind of Life deprived them of numberless Observations. First, the exceeding Suppleness of Women's Hearts could be but little known to them. There was no taking those delicate Views of Manners, which shine in modern Pieces ; indeed, the present Age is but too fertile in Reflections on Characters, since the Court Studies are become a Part of the Amusements of the Ladies. So manifest is the Superiority of the Moderns in this Kind, that one of the most illustrious Champions of Antiquity concedes to us what he calls *Speculative Reason*.

The second Reflection relates to the Seat of a Nation's Manners, which is the Capital ; but here Distinctions are to be made, according to the Extent of the Dominions, and the Situation of Places. Within a certain Number of Years, the Capitals of large Empires alter by the Concourse of different People, who introduce their Customs, and disfigure and cloud the national Manners. By accurate Calculations, it has been proved that three fourths of the Inhabitants of *Rome* were *Grecian*, *Roman*, *Asiatic*, *Capadocian*, *Egyptian* and *Armenian* Slaves. This Mixture of Manners is more apparent at *Constantinople*, and in all the Capitals of large Empires,

pires, being usually the Resort of Foreigners from all Parts. On this Account, there is some Difficulty in knowing the *Romans* under the Empire, and the *Turks* of *Constantinople*, &c.

C H A P. XIX.

General Reflections on the Treatment of Women in different Nations.

WOMEN make the essential Part of Manners. From the Beginning of the World all the eastern Nations have thought fit to put them under Confinement: Tho' the greatest Part of their Life be spent in the Seraglio, they are continually complaining of the Dulness of Company; these Women being born Slaves, and generally void of any Education, as they never appeared at Entertainments, impart no Cheerfulness to their Master's Heart, nor introduce any Gaiety into the public Manners. Accordingly *Chardin* assures us, that there is scarce a young Gentleman in *Perſia* who does not ruin himself in Expences on Mistresses. How are the same Things diversified by Art!

They ground themselves on three Reasons, concealing the strongest, which is their natural innate Jealousy. It is our Duty, say they, to confine Women, from the Legislator's Precept, which, in the very Moments of his Agony, was renewed with great Energy: Secondly, a Plurality of Wives renders this Hardship necessary; and this Plurality, which is the very Idol of their Genius, springs from two

most prevalent Principles, Voluptuousness and Policy ; Number being an Expedient for lessening the Ascendancy which Women have naturally over us.

In fine, the last Reason, if the Orientals may be believed, proceeds even from a Regard to the Women. The *Mahometans* have an Esteem for female Virtue which borders upon Enthusiasm ; they cannot bear the Thoughts of exposing its Weakness to the least Essay of Licentiousness. Their Respect for the Ladies can be equalled by nothing but their Love. According to *Chardin*, throughout all the East, they must not lay Hands on a Woman, not even in the Case of public Punishment, tho' appointed by Law. It is this Respect which is the only Principle of that Silence so strictly observed by Eunuchs and Lords, on whatever passes in the *Harem* or Seraglio. *Harem* signifies a sacred Place. Their Idea of the Sex's Modesty and Chastity, inspires those awful Sentiments, and that religious Fear, mentioned by *Chardin* and *Thevenot*, and which the Author of the *Lettres ingenieuses*, which appeared about thirty Years ago, has most feelingly expressed.

They account Fornication a Sin ; yet, in the Evenings, the public Women repair to the little Apartments of the Priests and Professors : But tender Consciences, to elude the Precept against Fornication, take a Woman by Lease for an Hour, a Day, or a Year ; though the Quality are above hiring a Woman under ninety

ninety Years. They also have a Canon Law, which prohibits certain Degrees ; but the Doctors are very indulgent. *Mahometanism* swarms with Casuists.

It is, after all, very difficult to know on what Terms the Ladies stand in the Law and Religion. *Mahomet*, in his Paradise, assigns them a Mansion a-part, however, not without supplying their Places with celestial Women of an everlasting Youth. It is agreed by all Travellers, that they pay them an infinite Respect, and that Foreigners have been too hasty in their Judgments. The Confinement, however harsh it appears, proceeds from their Veneration for Pudicity. There can be no better Proofs of their high Esteem for the Ladies, than their Jealousy and Imperiousness ; and it is the Plurality only which precludes Wives from being at the Head of the Family ; though their Recluseness deprives them of proper Knowledge and Experience.

Lastly, how high the Ladies stand in the Ideas of the Orientals, is no where more manifest than in the History of the *Arabians* and the *Moors* their Neighbours, alike in Genius, agreeing in Traditions and Religion, intermixed by Commerce and Alliances, and to whom modern Gallantry owes its first Institutes. The regulated Homage of the Ladies, replete with all the Extravagancies of an inventive Imagination, is known to be the Product of the *African* Genius. The Embellishments of the *Arabian* Compositions are Adventures,

ventures, Festivals, heroic Feasts in the Cause of Love. All the Enterprizes of the *Arabians* have Women for their Object; they are their Deities. If their Heroes write or speak to Ladies, 'tis with the Transports and Respect of Subjects to a despotic Sovereign. The *Granadan* Gallantry, a Copy of theirs, has been the Model for all *Europe*; therefore it was a most crying Injustice to charge three fourths of the Inhabitants of the Earth with a savage and unnatural Contempt of the Ladies.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Grecian Treatment of Women.

THE Greeks also confined their Women, and even the *Athenians*, in the Height of their Politeness, retained the Law, by which a Woman was not to contract for above the Value of a Measure of Corn, on Pain of the Obligation being void. It is true, that on the other hand, the Courtezans were from their Childhood brought up with the greatest Care and Delicacy, and that not only in the entertaining Accomplishments, but in the History and Philosophy of the Nation; and accordingly, their Houses were the Resort of the greatest Men and the gravest Citizens; and in such Company they necessarily imbibed a Love of their Country. It gives a philosophic Kind of Pleasure to see *Phryne* scrupulously discussing the Nature of true Glory, and no less concerned

cerned for the Republic, than for her admired Tresses.

But here indeed, the Force of Love and the Power of Beauty are seen in their Meridian Light: The *Grecian* Climate was of all the happiest, their Religion adapted to Sense, a Multitude of Affairs as usual in Republics, Tempers full of Vivacity, Arts and Shews in their most exquisite Magnificence, the national Assemblies august; in a Word, there was Liberty: Yet amidst all these Circumstances, from the Accounts of *Grecian* Customs, it appears that their Life in general was serious, and so they themselves thought it.

It is certain that in their light Poetry, their Romances, their Comedies, their Songs, one does not meet with those spirited Strains of Gaiety, those lively Flashes of Joy, which animate our Drama: Their sportive Pieces are so void of warm Expressions and of warm Ideas, that in Respect of ours they may be said to have no Soul or Spirit.

Thus a free Intercourse with Women had no Place in *Greece*, and, among others, for one very shameful Reason; the Boys performing naked in the Spectacles, whereby infamous Desires were apt to be kindled in the Spectators. Could *Plutarch* be thought to have written, that in true Love Women were no Party; whereas 'tis the sprightly and humanizing Conversation of Women, which adorns and enlivens the *European* Manners, and will ever secure them from any Return of Barbarism. The Ladies were

not

not so much as allowed to appear at the *Grecian Games*; and what was the Consequence of these severe Precautions? All their Wit, Splendor, Glory and Liberty could not supply the Agency of Love; their Minds felt nothing of that Degree of Heat which is the Property of that Passion. Their Pleasure may be said to have wanted Flame.

The Encomiasts of the eastern Oeconomy relatively to Women, would do well to examine the Consequences of that Sequestration, and its Influence on Manners. With me it is no Question, but that it will be censured by all who are acquainted with History and human Nature. Shallow Draughts of Philosophy often alienate us from the Ladies, but drinking largely, and of the best Sort, never fails to correct that Savageness, and inclines us to delight in their Company.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Roman Ladies.

THE Romans, more equitable and generous, have left us an Instance of a Conduct becoming all their good Sense, in allowing Women a proper Liberty. *Rome* never was wanting in Respect for the Ladies, appointing them every where particular Seats, and making Funeral Orations in Honour of them. Nothing can be more decent and complaisant than its Behaviour in this Point, when the Roughness of its first Manners came to be a little

little softened: I say in this Point, because under the Republic, the civil Law always held them in a perpetual Tutelage, as to the Administration of their Effects.

Yet that Commerce, which amongst us improved into Gallantry, was never thought of by the *Romans*; the Facility of Divorces, and the Resource of Female Slaves, drying up the very Springs of it. The *Romans* do not appear to have had any of those Amusements now in Fashion; and it must be owned, that a Society, where those Entertainments are wanting, never reaches a certain Degree of Perfection: Politeness never was looked upon as a national Virtue at *Rome*; the Consequence of which was, that Vileness of Manners, which sprung up amongst them after the Extinction of the Republican Morals; and hence the Cruelty of the Emperors towards the Quality, when Virtue had been over-power'd by Luxury and Tyranny. The Gentleness of the *French* Manners would have been a sure Resource to the *Romans* in those bad Times; but, so far from being encouraged, it was never tried.

Among the *Romans* we have no Visiting Days, no Assemblies of Noblemen and Persons of Distinction at Ladies Houses. The Women saw each other only at the Shews, the Theatres, and in the latter Times at the Entertainments given by the Emperors, which were begun by *Nero*: But afterwards we find Women of the best Families fighting in the Amphitheatre, and carrying their Effrontry to

a Pitch becoming all the Dignity of the first Ladies of the Universe.

For want of the Conversation of the Ladies, the Nobility and Gentry could reap but little Improvement from the second School, which is the Theatre ; no Actresses appearing on the *Roman Stage*, not even in the Pantomimes. Thus all turned on private Love ; and the Gallantries in the *Latin Poets* are only from a Lover to his Mistress, without the least Intimation of that perpetual and general Communication with the Ladies, which characterise *French Manners*.

Nobody ought to be surprized at the Brevity of these Observations on the Women of Antiquity. We have no curious Memoirs on this Head. The Antients were unacquainted with Romances, Novels, and all those serious Amusements of our Age, which under feigned Names, and imaginary Adventures gives a very entertaining and particular Insight into the Manners of the Times. The excessive Seriousness of Writers has deprived us of a great Number of valuable Anecdotes, especially in the *Roman History*, where Women always acted a very considerable Part.

C H A P. XXII.

Of Love among the modern Europeans.

THE *Americans* and *Europeans* are warlike People, who yet never shut up their Women. The *Savages*, *Scythians*, *Gotbs*, &c. in

in all their Barbarity, so far from entertaining a Thought of depriving them of their Liberty, admitted them in private Concerns even to a Kind of Equality with Man. Their Happiness began in *Europe*, with the Settlements of those People, that is, as soon as it could begin: The further North, the more Female Authority, and the less Jealousy. The Indifference of the *German* Laws on this Head would scarce be credited; yet these same *Vizigoths*, afterwards penetrating into *Spain*, adapted the jealous Laws of the Nation, and which in those Climates are a Matter of Necessity, if the Conduct of Women, who are indulged some Freedom at *Cusco*, *Lima*, *Goa*, and in the *Indies*, be not misrepresented by Travellers.

I leave the Particulars of the *French* Spirit of Society, of Manners and Gallantry to the Expatiations of the Writers of these surprizing Adventures and ingenious Novels: A philosophic View only agrees with our Design, and this will exhibit a general Idea of the Mind and Heart of different Nations in this Article.

Beauty inspires either Passion, sensual Desires, Gaiety, or Admiration. The pensive and melancholy *Spaniard* tends more directly to the natural Object of the Passion, which is Beauty, preferring it to Wit and Hilarity. The *Italian* already prevaricates: It is not the Object of the Passion, Beauty, to which he directly tends, but to his Scope, which is Pleasure: He prefers a timorous Beauty. The *Spaniard's* Passion

sion is all Nature: That of the *Italian* has in it something of Imagination and Wit.

The *Frenchman*, more superficial in his Sentiments, is not so vehemently carried towards Beauty; the Woman of Wit and Gaiety takes more with him. The *German* is of another Cast; in him Beauty excites Admiration and Respect, which, however are not its essential Effects; nor has all the Beauty of the *German* Women been able to disperse the Flegm of that Nation, or communicate to the Stile and Arts that Spirit and Fire, in which *Italy* and *France* have so happily imitated Antiquity.

The Mode of Love, particular to each Nation, answers to its Principle. The *Spaniard* is a Madman; he threatens universal Destruction, if he fails of his Point; yet upon miscarrying, betakes himself to Macerations, and all those amorous Penances, which are so facetiously described in their Romances. Fifty Years ago there was, and may be still, at the Court of *Spain*, a particular Sect of these Amorists, distinguished by the Stile of *Embevecidos* or drunk with Love; they are allowed their Transports in public; their Dress and Behaviour, how extravagant soever, are taken no Notice of; Love, by which they are intirely possessed, being an Excuse for their Madness.

The *Italian* makes his Advances, under the Images of a polite Voluptuousness, and the most refined Impudence: The Terms and Genius of his Poetry tend to Seduction, and his Passion breaks forth in Music and Concerts: No Na-

Nation comes up to him in poetical Fecundity he never gives over till he is a Conqueror, or revenged on his Rival.

The *Frenchman* is volatile, sparkling and giddy. His gay Passion makes use only of Songs or Railleries, ludicrous Flights, Balls, and Collations ; but he no sooner comes to be loved, than he immediately grows out of Conceit with the Object about which he took so much Pains. If his Mistress is insensible, he vents his Spite in Menaces and Slander ; but it is his Happiness, that no Storm is of any long Continuance with him.

The wary, cold, meditative *German* is not easily moved ; but when once smitten, he pours in his Presents ; his Gallantry understands nothing further ; he is also timorous and confused, and scrupulously nice against the least Breach of Decency. If it be his Happiness to be beloved, he presently cools ; if he is slighted, he continues in Love.

I make no scruple to rank the *Germans* Profuseness, and the *Spaniards* Heroism among the Follies of Mankind. Were this Art susceptible of Wisdom, the Dispute would lye betwixt the *Italian* and the *Frenchman*, and perhaps the latter only would appear to have it.

These are the only four Manners in which this Passion operates ; all the Love-Systems of other Nations being reducible to these, either jointly or separately.

To these Reflections on the Manners of polished Nations, it seems necessary to add a short Analysis of the Genius of the Barbarians.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Genius of the Barbarians.

PRECISELY to determine the Idea of Barbarism and of its Compensations in the want of Police, is a nicer Point than is imagined. Most Philosophers have talked indiscriminately, and without descending to Particulars; it was the general Pride of Nations to look with Contempt on those which came latest into Society. The *Greeks*, misled by this Vanity, took upon them to give the Name of *Barbarians* to the *Romans*, as ignorant of the fine Arts, themselves being ignorant of the true Definition of Barbarism, which means no more than those People among whom the Law of Nations, moral and military Discipline, are unknown. In its Effects, Barbarism is that *Animi Impotentia*, so well known among the *Latins*; or a capricious Disorder of Mind, acting only by Fits and Starts, restrained by no Rule, and proceeding without Method. Thus the Soldiers of *Mithridates* began the Fight with inconceiveable Fury, animating their Impetuosity with Shouts and Outcries; so that by means of the Terror caused by such an Onset, they might immediately rout the Enemy.

His Country is ever uppermost in the Heart of a Savage: They are never known to betray it

it to a Foreign Interest. The Friendships of Savages, according to all the Accounts of Travellers, are equal to any thing, which Antiquity can boast concerning *Pyrrhous* and *Theseus*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, *Aeneas* and *Achates*, *Orestes* and *Pylades*. Friendship, being of a constricted Nature, never diffusing itself through extended Societies, closely cements the few Families, which among them form the Nation. In general, the Barbarians, and especially the Savages, carry Courage and Friendship to a more surprizing Pitch than their policed Despisers.

Such high flown Praises having been bestowed on the *Chinese* and *Mexicans*, the Savages might with no less Ease impose on the Bulk of Readers, by their Inattention to observe, that Nature in the Barbarians leans all on one Side. Under a policed Government no peculiar Virtues are cultivated, exclusively of the rest; on the contrary, they all are modelled so as to act in Conjunction; and hence it is, that they never show themselves in that Excess, that Adyantage, that Blaze, which strike the Vulgar; as the Eye is more affected by a Gleam of Light darting through the Dark, than with the Light as dispersed through the Expanse.

The Barbarians further afford Works of surprizing Ingenuity: Being Strangers to Art, they have exhausted Nature; and without copying from suspicious Accounts, it is certain that Princes accounted it an Object worthy of their Attention to preserve the Industry of the Savages,

and entertain eminent Artists to imitate the Works wherein they excelled.

Thus are the Sallies of the Heart and Genius of the Barbarians acknowledged to be no less brilliant than ours ; but they are faulty in two essential Points : First, there is neither Order in their Ideas, nor Consistency in their Character : Their second Fault is an Excelſe of Art. They put one in mind of those pompous Poets and Writers of the lower Empire, who soar out of Sight on the Wings of a sudden Enthusiasm, but soon flacken their Flight, and fall headlong to the Ground. Such Authors are Barbarians in the Art of Composition.

What Answer can be given to these Examples of the Inequality of the Barbarians ? The *Tartars* live only upon Horse-flesh, baked under the Saddle, by the Agitation and Heat of the Horse and his Rider, and Mare's Milk is their Drink. They are in a perpetual State of War, Depredation being their Trade and Exercise ; and though thus bred up in War, and inured to Hardship, they are not comparable to our Soldiers : When persued, they throw away their Arrows, and cut their Horses Girts, to be the more expeditious in their Flight.

The Inhabitants of *Tungusia*, a northern Province of *Tartary*, though living in the wildest Climate, subsisting only by the Fatigues of Hunting ; and thus habituated to Cold and Hunger, as their bitterest Imprecation wish their Enemies may be forced to plough a Field. The *American* Savages live upon Roots, and a
very

very coarse Kind of Corn, but are continually swallowing intoxicating Draughts ; they flea their Prisoners alive, and sometimes eat their Parents.

The *Cossacks* run up the steepest Mountains like Hares ; they lie among their Cattle, live by Choice but from Hand to Mouth, are sober when in the Field, and want no Physicians ; but when got back to their Huts, they give themselves up to Debauchery, and are perpetually drunk. The *Americans* are violent Gamesters ; and such was herein the Frenzy of the antient *Germans*, so generous and free, that they would stake their Liberty upon the Cast of a Dye.

C H A P. XXIV.

Second Characteristic of Barbarism.

THE Barbarians are not only faulty in a Want of Art, but also in the contrary Extreme, adulterating Nature by vain, whimsical Refinements. This is the last Characteristic of Barbarism. The *American* Barbarians carry their Taste for Ornament to the most ridiculous Contrivances. Their Women set themselves off with Jewels hanging at their Nostrils : The young Men sacrifice their Faces into Figures ; and, as if that was not sufficiently ornamental, lay different Colours along the Incisions ; whilst others conceit nothing is so becoming as to metamorphose themselves into Birds, by covering their Bodies with Feathers.

The *Goths* were not less capricious in their Architecture, which was Sculpture and Denticles, without Regard to Suitableness ; and the Pillars in no wise proportioned to the Huge-nesses which they supported ; yet this they accounted a Delicacy unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans* : And equally absurd were the Excesses of the Scholastics, those logical Barbarians, in their Philosophy ; both aimed at Elegancy and Improvement, and neither understood any thing of what is decorous in Nature, or solid in Philosophy. To sum up the Whole in one Word, the Barbarians either follow rude Nature, or hide it under ridiculous Ornaments. They either live in Ignorance and a Lethargy, or busy themselves in the Questions of the School, and the Chicanes of false Philosophy.

It appears all along, that the Want of Consistency is the particular Error of the Barbarians. No Difficulty daunts them ; they freely encounter the Hardships of War, and the Fatigues of Travelling, on account of a Confusion and Caprice incident to them, which takes with their natural Levity. On the contrary, the Works of Agriculture require an Uniformity which they detest : The Distinction of Days and Seasons is what they will not bring themselves to.

Hence all those Contradictions, which are discernable in the Character of these People. Their Manners are simple, their Cloathing savage, their Food coarse, and Furniture mean enough. But their Superstition is

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monstrous ; the excessive drinking of the most inflaming Liquors general ; and what Polity they have, void of all Resource : So that 'tis a great Error to prefer the barbarous Ages to the present ; and, from the Rudeness of their Usages, to infer the Simplicity of their Minds and Hearts ; yet this is the Way of all inattentive Travellers, and particularly the Authors of some *French* Narratives. Another Mistake, and in its Consequences worse, is to have asserted in Print, that the general Rule of Nature, is exactly to acquire in Force what is lost in Delicacy, and regularly to make itself amends for a Vice by an equal Virtue. The Authors of this Idea, which, by the by, is very inaccurate, are easily perceived to have aimed at bringing all Religions, all Governments, and all Manners, upon a Level.

The Spirit of Nations, we hope, has been laid open from its most known and copious Sources : All that remains is, a few accessory Questions naturally connected with the Design.

BOOK VI.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Epochs by which we should judge of
a Nation.*

THERE is no giving an exact Definition of the Genius of a Nation till it has disclosed itself, or, at least, has been tried in the different Forms of Government. This Principle may be easily illustrated by divers Examples. Who amidst the Feuds of the *French*, the Oppression of the Husbandmen and Commonalty, the Frenzy of Duelling, the continual Depredations of the Lords and Vassals; who, I say, could have discerned that Spirit of Society, which is the main Part of the *French* Character?

A Nation can be but imperfectly represented, till successive Revolutions have laid open the natural Turn of Peoples Minds. It's from a Neglect of this plain Rule, that the *Muscovites* have in most Accounts been introduced as dull, slothful and incapable of either civil or military Discipline.

Discipline. The Authors did not reflect that it was impossible, but that the Inhabitants of a Climate, from whence formerly had issued a Branch of the Conquerors of the *Romans*, must have a Spirit of Freedom and Bravery lying dormant, under all the Superstition and Slavery in which they were held.

At present by a contrary Extreme, the Grandeur and Progress of these very People, are as extravagantly cried up, tho' as yet but Babes in Science, and, a small Part excepted, living in all the Miseries of their antient Ignorance and Savageness. To admire a remote or new People is the oldest Distemper of Writers, who seemed to strive to outdo one another in Panegyrics on the *Chinese* and the *Americans*, yet the latter have retired into the inland Countries, or have been extirpated; and it is not above two hundred Years, since the *Chinese* opened the Ports of their Empire, which within these fifty Years they have taken into their Heads to shut again, except only that of *Canton*; besides the strict Precautions by which a Knowledge of their Manners is not easily come at, and the extreme Difficulty in learning their Language. Yet no sooner did the *Europeans* land in that Empire, than they absolutely forgot their native Countries, lost in a precipitate Admiration of that Nation.

But the Error most prevalent is to judge of a Nation by its fine Age, not only in Arts but in moral Qualities. The Genius of Arts may lay a very long Time unknown, and buried under

very

very disfavourable Circumstances ; when that fine Age commences, this Genius rouzed by Encouragement, shakes off all Impediments, and by Degrees, its Skill and Delicacy appear in their full Splendour. This Genius must be in the Nation : All the Munificence of the Prince cannot produce it ; Painting never has seen any eminent Disciples in *England*, though animated by the Generosity of the Nobility and Nation in general ; the Urbanity and natural Graces of the *French*, have not yet been successfully imitated by other Nations. The *Germans* and *Danes* are neither Poets nor Painters, &c.

Thus the Genius of a Nation for Arts, must, in all Reason, be fixed at the Date of the fine Age, because at the Conjunction of favourable Circumstances, the Genius of the People being elevated by the public Joy, they make extraordinary Efforts, and commonly attain their *ne plus ultra*.

But the Application of this Rule fails in moral Qualities ; Virtue may be imitated ; there is the Mask of Virtue, but Genius must be real. An austere Prince may govern a voluptuous People by rigorous Laws ; and then a Nation will not fail to put on the Appearance of Modesty and Reformation. A great Captain, or a great Minister, may raise the Arms of a Nation to great Reputation ; a fortunate Event, the Weakness of Neighbours, the Errors and Oversight of Enemies, the Want of Talents in Place-Men ; in short a thousand foreign

reign Causes may concur to Fame and Fortune, which are only the Externals of a Nation.

And indeed the most difficult Age for History, is that of the greatest Prosperity; as it brings on a Deluge of Poets, Inscriptions, Speeches, Orators, Medals, Monuments of Painting and Sculpture, Idlers and Wits; and on the other hand, it raises the Jealousy of the Enemies. Thus what Perspicacity can distinguish Truth amidst the Exaggerations, and the ingenuous Fictions of the Arts and Sciences, and the Malignity of foreign Historians?

The History of the fine Age of the *Greeks* shews them in a Light, which at most does not last above two Centuries. *Cyrus* never could fix Sciences and Virtue amongst the *Persians*. The *Jews* could hardly hold out a Century without foreign Gods. *Egypt*, born voluptuous, fixed itself at last in this Genius, and communicated it to its fierce Conquerors the *Arabs* and *Saracens*. To multiply Examples would be needless.

C H A P. II.

Of the Difficulty of characterising some Nations, and their seeming Contradictions.

ALL Nations are commonly thought to have one manifest Character, of all Things the easiest to be hit; though so far from it, that often there is nothing more latent or intermixed. The *English* Character, as it requires bold Colours, and without any Gradations, may be more easily canvassed. This is so true, that the

English

English Critics, used to the Portraits of their own Nation, account those of *Moliere* weak ; whilst we ourselves think they are too much charged, and lament that admirable Author's Condescension to the vulgar Taste.

The *Italian*, on the contrary, and the *Frenchman* require the nicest Skill ; no Foreigner has ever rightly hit the latter, by Reason of the infinite Variations in his Character, and the Colours of his Genius partaking of and insensibly running into each other.

Among the Orientals, the *Chinese* are the most difficult Subjects for the Pencil ; a Nation abounding with good Laws, calculated for the Prosperity of the State, immersed in Superstition and Philosophy, grave and simple in its Morality, in its Metaphysics, dark, quintessential and unintelligible, on the Bench moderate ; cruel and deceitful in private Dealings, ingenuous in the Departments of Polity ; Knaves and Usurers in Trade and Business. It has been proved in the first Part of this Work, that among all the *Asiatics* the *Japonese* are of a Character by themselves.

The *Indians* are just the same People as four thousand Years ago ; and it is also observable that there is no Climate where the Seasons are so regular as those of the *Indians*. The *Swedes* have visibly departed from the Austerity and Sullenness of the northern Genius, at least in the social Part.

In fine there is no denying it, and for my Part I here frankly confess it, there is always

some impenetrable Cloud intervenes betwixt our Researches and the Principles of Tempers: we think it is plain before our Eyes, and immediately we lose Sight of it. In the Genius of a Nation, nay of a single Man, these are visible Contradictions, but the Link which keeps them together, and the Root of such opposite Products, is not always discernable. We must put up with Conjectures; as on many Occasions, all the Answers I could get, have not been quite satisfactory.

Brutus, for Instance, that famous *Roman*, the Head of the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, though a strict Stoic, a warm Republican and a great Farter, cultivated a Kind of Eloquence the most opposite that could be to the Gravity and Austerity of his Character, even that polite or flowery Eloquence, which after the Down-fall of Freedom, had the Vogue in *Athens* and all *Greece*.

Gravity is immediately perceived to be the Principle of the *Italian* Genius; it appears in their Government, in the Usages, in the Meetings of their Youth; at home there is none of that Playfulness in the Children, neither are their Sports and Games attended with such a Vivacity as in *France*, *England*, and other Countries.

The Dances and Assemblies of their Quality, and even of their Citizens, are without any of that Clatter and Agitations, which are reckoned the very Life of ours; yet are Love and Pleasure no less strong within.

This

This Melancholy which is settled in the Hearts of the Modern *Romans*, is also painted on their Countenance and directs their Exterior; to this it is owing that there are more Victims to private and hired Revenge in the Pope's Dominions, than in all *Italy* besides. It is not without Reason that the *Italians* say, that however Times change, the serious Melancholy and sanguinary Disposition of the antient Inhabitants of *Rome* still remains there.

But withall 'tis surprising to see this deep-rooted serious Character instantly suppressed in the Airiness and Spirit of Music; certainly little of it is seen in their poetical Embellishments, in the Multitude of Allegories and Hyperboles, the Gesticulations of the Pantomimes, and the Grimaces of their Comedians.

Here we are at a Loss again: is not this to all Appearance a Contradiction? the Nation serious to Melancholy, and the Language wanton and effeminate. The *Italian* Painters and Sculptors have never deviated from natural Beauty, whereas the Poets wildly follow the Chace of Imagination. The *Italian* is sober, jealous, vindictive and serious; yet can instantly, as occasion calls, transform himself into any Shape.

I forbear any further Enlargement on the Intricacies of the *Italian* Character, recommending the Enquiry as highly necessary to those who travel in that Country, or in *France*, *Greece*, and some Parts of the *Levant*, where the People are ingenious and subtile, the Character, the Government of every Thing wearing a double Face.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Causes of the Decay of Genius and Arts :
First, of the Climate of Italy, and the actual
Circumstances of that Nation.*

THE Difference betwixt the *Italians* and *Romans* is chiefly to be attributed to the Climates. Were this a proper Place for a formal Dissertation, it might be proved, from the best of antient Testimonies, that the Climate has undergone very essential Changes. Those Writers very often complain of sharp Winters, which are now unknown in *Italy*, without mentioning the Delights which they must have enjoyed, had the antient Climate been like the modern ; they only dwell on the Heats of *Spain*, the luxuriant Climate of *Andalusia*, to which they gave the Name of *Betica*, the Advantages of the *Grecian* Temperature, and the particular Exuberance of *Capua* and *Sicily*. In fine, according to the Remark of the Author of *Reflexions sur la peinture*, it is certain that the Aqueducts of *Rome* have been stopped up ; that Mines of Sulphur, Alum, and Arsenic, have forced a Vent every where ; that the Fens of *Ostia* and *Offanta* are no longer dried up ; and that the Eruptions of Volcanos, and the Devastation made thereby, have been very extraordinary in these latter Ages.

Besides, the Influences of the Climate on the intellectual Faculties, is acknowledged by all

all reputable Historians, Naturalists and Physicians: And though, as to modern *Italy* in particular, there may be some Difficulty to point out the Conformity of the Effect, which is the Change, with the Climate, which we take for the Cause, we need not be posed by it. 'Tis a Principle something critical in Relation to Facts, but in Philosophy uncontrollable, that a Thesis once well proved, is never to be given up for any difficult Objections which lie against it.

Methinks I now hear this Objection: 'Tis the Church-Government, 'tis priestly Power, which has enervated those Hearts formerly so gallant and generous: Is it natural that a People, who are taken up with sauntering in Galleries of Pictures, in frequenting Shews and Churches, drawn thither by the Decorations, Illuminations and Music, should be degenerated? And as for their Wit and Sagacity, they lie dormant for fear of the Inquisition.

I allow it, with an Exception however, of several Effects, which cannot be accounted for, but from physical Causes: Imagination, the musical Genius, the allegorical Taste, common to all hot Countries, glaringly prevails in the *Italian* Literature. That Flexibility of Body and Mind, so peculiar to the *Italian*, that he is accused of having introduced Flattery into all the Courts, and Pantomimes on all the Stages of *Europe*: All these Things do not well admit of a philosophical Explication from moral Causes: They are Vices or Qualities of the

Imagination, and are to be referred to the natural Temper.

Thus we see it is the new Climate of *Italy* that has given a new Turn to the Minds, and produced the Difference betwixt the antient and modern *Romans*; but there is yet another Difference betwixt the two last Ages and this: The *Italians* own it, and call it an *Eclipse*. Within these fifty Years, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting have declin'd; and this is chargeable to moral Causes. The golden Age of *Italy* is past; the Authority of the Court of *Rome* is searee the Shadow of its former Splendor and Power; *Florence* is reduced to a Province; the Glory of *Venice* is overcast; and *Milan* is expos'd to continual Invasions.

Since the Beginning of this Century, the Number of its Inhabitants is computed to be diminished by one third. *Naples* continues to be the Head of Music, which still makes a Figure in *Italy*. The admirable Originals of the *Parmesan* Collection, the most numerous, and withal the most valuable and best preserved of any, has been lately removed to the former City, and stands fair to revive Painting, provided the Kingdom does not again become a Province.

The latter Ages were much more favourable. The Wars of *Francis I.* had succeeded to the Wish of the *Italians*, who were either Subjects or Friends of *Charles V.* then animated by the irresistible Genius of his Fortune. That Age was fertile in great Princes and great

Popes. The *Farnesi*, the *Medicis*, the *Sixti*, and the *Urbani*, will be revered whilst any Monuments of Art remain. The *Spaniards* and the Religious, grown immensely rich in the *Indies*, were continually raising Edifices of Religion or Ostentation ; but the Age being just emerged from Barbarism, was in want of every thing, the necessary no less than the ornamental Part. The antient Monuments being but lately discovered, the first Transports caused by the Acquisition of such precious Remains were yet warm ; and the whole World was soon made sensible of the Importance of the Discovery, and the Revival of Arts.

France and *Germany*, amidst the Distractions of War and religious Feuds, wanted both the Leisure and Funds necessary for the Support of Arts. The Men of Letters bent all their Genius towards the new Questions ; an Article which gave *Italy* no Disturbance : Besides, at that Time she was Mistress of all the Riches of Antiquity ; but, at present, great Numbers of its Originals, both antient and modern, are in the Hands of other Nations.

C H A P. IV.

Of Compensations in Virtues and Arts peculiar to different Ages and Nations.

OF these, every Age has exhibited some very considerable ; and every Nation, by disclosing its Genius, has contributed to the Perfection of Mankind. This I shall shew with

with my usual Brevity, in a Display of the Order of the Progresses of Virtue and Reason in all Ages.

The People of the early Ages may be divided into two very different Classes ; one simple and virtuous ; the other Robbers and Murtherers. The policed People carried their Respect for Parents, Elders, Traditions, Priests, Philosophers, and Inventors of Arts, to a degree, perhaps, unparalleled in all succeeding Times.

The other unpoliced Class consisted only of Robbers and Pirates. Journies and Voyages were become so perilous, that to clear the seas of Pirates, and Roads of Banditti, was the most glorious Enterprize by which the Heroes of these Times could signalize themselves. Besides, the *Law of Nations* was at that time in its Infancy, and the strict Use in War of the *Law of Nature*, occasioned many shocking Cruelties. He who impartially weighs the Virtues and Crimes, the Simplicity and Savageness of those Times, is in doubt whether he would wish to have lived in them.

In process of time, Society took a better Form, and Arts were improved ; and these Advantages arose chiefly from the *Babylonians* and *Egyptians*. As they gradually infected their antient Virtue, *Greece* arose ; acquiring, even in a larger measure, what *Egypt* had lost ; and adding to the Rudiments transplanted from *Asia*, Philosophy, the Method of Composition,

tion, the Elegancy of Arts, and the Crown of all, Liberty.

Next came the *Romans*, who improved the Doctrines of their *Grecian* Masters into a solid Majesty. The Law of Nations, under this vast Empire, whose Interests were so multifarious, received the finishing Hand. Large Empires extend the Genius of Mankind in general; I may say, that whilst the World stands, its Obligations to the *Romans* will be felt.

To them was owing the Revival of Virtue in several Nations, whilst they themselves were sinking into Corruption. It was at the very properst time that the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* entered on the Cultivation of Literature. After all the Treacheries and Abominations of the Kings who succeeded *Alexander*, it was high time that *Egypt* should become a Province. Never was *Syria* so happy as under the *Romans*, after the Extinction of that Breed of Partridges, and spiritless Princes, or abandoned Usurpers. Depravation, like a Torrent, was over-running *Asia Minor*, when it was stem'd by the *Roman* Government.

The extremest Calamities, occasioned by the Confusion of Successions, hung over *Mauritania*, and most of the Monarchies; but these eastern People, by their Temper destined to Servitude, found the *Romans* better Lords than their own native Sovereigns. So depraved were all the several Kingdoms, and so harrassed by mutual Jealousies, that they supported themselves

selves only by Embassies, Treacheries, and perpetual Presents to the *Romans*; so that, without the Intervention of the *Roman* Arms, the small Remains of Virtue and Prosperity among these People, would have been utterly extinguished.

The *Greeks* themselves stood in need of being reformed or conquered: This artful People, being themselves extremely corrupt, and dispersed every where, could not fail of infecting all Nations: their pernicious Talents exceedingly weakened even the *Roman* Virtues. The *Greeks* insinuated themselves into the chief Families of *Rome*, as Perfumers, Musicians, Dancers, Pantomimes, foreign Fashion-mongers, Actors, Slaves, House-Stewards, Parasites and Wits. A *Roman* Lord's Table was nothing without an *Epicurean* or two. Now, methinks, at this Enumeration, I see an *Englishman* pointing at the *Italians*, but more especially at the *French*. At length, the *Romans* felt the Fate of great Empires; their Corruption came to exceed their Greatness; and in this Interval the Barbarians arose. It is true they destroyed the Monuments of Arts and the *Roman* Virtues, but they restored Liberty; they again brought to Light its inestimable Idea, then lost in the World, and swallowed up in the Magnitude of the Empire, which could no longer stand but upon a Despotism; it having been proved, that a conquered People still retained a Power over their own Persons, in which lies the Essence of Liberty.

One Word more on the *Romans*; even their imperial Ages afford great Compensations. Eloquence and Poetry indeed became vitiated, but never were Architecture, Music, Dancing, Sculpture and Engraving at such a Perfection. Philosophy cannot be said to have been common till the Emperors of the second Age. The Physicians and Civilians secured pure *Latinism*, which was not yet become so bastardised as is imagined by many, who are conversant with it only in Orators and Poets, as the most known and entertaining. Here it would be wrong to omit the Formation of the celebrated Body of Laws compiled by *Justinian's* Order, at the very time of the Desolation of the Empire.

C H A P. V.

Of the Losses and Compensations of late Ages in Philosophy and Society.

THE present Number of great Men being certainly small, comparatively to the last Century, the Enumeration of the Compensations of this Age affords a just Supposition, that another Age may be upon the same Footing; for all Times have had these Eclipses of Genius, which could be as little foreseen as accounted for. The most sensible Accretions have been those of the philosophic Branch: First, the Progress of Physics and the experimental Sciences, naturally bears a Proportion to the Course of Years; but a more important Observation is, that Philosophy is now interwoven

woven with all Parts of Literature, and cultivated by all Ranks in the Nation. The fine Arts being under a Decay, and the admirable Models of the last Age being grown familiar, this *Interregnum* has afforded Philosophy an Opportunity of settling and spreading itself.

A Man must either want Equity, or have no Idea of the Transactions in the World, to deny this Alteration of Minds. Reason was never more generally made use of than at this Time; whereas, in the last Age, when Taste was yet in its Rudiments, a few Persons were supreme Arbitrators of all intellectual Questions and Doubts. In the very Books of Amusement, there is now a regard to Truth, which, in Compositions of this kind, was totally disregarded by the last Age; Analysis and Discussion are now familiar in the learned World.

The antient School has lost the Remains of its Authority. All kinds of Literature, even the most austere, have within these thirty Years been polished and illustrated by Productions, which might rival any of profane or sacred Antiquity. Exclusively of the immortal Discoveries of *Newton*, and the great Men of every Nation, it must be owned that our Youth are grown in love with Metaphysics; all the Ridicule lies in introducing it into the Sentiments; 'tis this new scholastic Whim which blasts the agreeable Talents, and has absolutely vitiated the Taste and Art of writing.

Erudition is certainly put to a much more noble Use than in the last Century. The Choice of Studies is more simple, and brought within Utility; the *German* Disquisitions are exploded; it is rather the *Roman* Taste for Morality, and the Conduct of Affairs, which prevails; Amusements and Sociableness are also now more general in *Europe*; there's little of that starched Gravity, or rather saturnine Superciliousness, in which the Gownsmen and Scholars used, as it were, to wrap themselves up. And as to Arts, the *Italian* Music has made its Way through all the Opposition of Prejudice.

As to our Losses, herein let Virtue be our Comfort. It is evident that Decency now is a leading Principle of all the Bodies in the Nation. There was antiently a complete Judicature of false Honour, which had its Laws and Maxims, and where Men of fiery Spirits sat as Judges; whereas now, Youth, instead of thinking themselves obliged to break through all Order and Decency, are much more reserved in duelling. These are happy Effects of the philosophic Taste; and, if the Peace lasts, we may hope to see more.

Just to mention a general Proposition; I, and others also, have thought thus on this common Subject, of the Eloquence of old Men and of some *Literati*: If you take a particular People, and compare them with themselves in different Ages, you'll not fail to perceive

perceive some Disadvantages in certain disfavourable Epochas.

If you extend your View, and include all Mankind, it will be found, that from the Beginning of Time, Arts and Virtue have only been travelling among the several Nations ; and that, through the whole Mass of Mankind, there has, in all Times, been diffused the same Quantity of Good and Evil, both moral and physical.

C H A P. VI.

A Summary Judgment, by Way of Recapitulation, on the Preference among different Nations.

UPON a Survey of all the Nations which have made their Appearance in the World, it seems impossible not to vote in favour of the *Romans*, abating, however, the extravagant Elogiums of some of their Admirers. Whoever can hesitate, let him attend to the greater Facts, such noted and incontestable Facts, as they themselves must allow.

Besides the Advantages of the Climate of antient *Italy*, the *Romans* were for a long time Republicans ; and the benign Influence of this Constitution on Talents, has been demonstrated. In Extent and Majesty also the *Roman Empire* exceeded all others. To confine myself to the Monuments of Architecture, of which every Man may judge, what have we that can be said to come up to the Remains of *Roman*

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Antiquity? This is too universally acknowledged to require any more Words.

The Comparison of the Moderns and *Greeks* is a nicer Point: The Contempt of Agriculture and of the pastoral Life, the Debasement of Trades, the Cessation of simple Usages, are all Causes by which Sciences and Manners have been deprived of innumerable Subjects, and which they are not likely to find again, in all the Experience and Goodness of the new Methods.

But, on the other hand, their great Qualities had the Alloy of great Vices, as hath been shewn in the Course of this Work. A republican Government was a Remedy of Necessity to them, against their enormous Depravation when under Sovereigns. Of this, a slight Acquaintance with the Ages of the *Roman Empire* affords a full Conviction. As to the History of the *Greeks* under their Emperors, I question whether that of any policed Nation is so crowded with Revolutions, Cruelties, Treacheries, Superstitions and Variations. Upon their Conversion to Christianity, they could not part with their old Fondness for Fables: They ran into the wildest Heresies and most fantastical Customs mentioned in the History of the Church; which has such Variety of both. The famous Author of this History relates, and unanswerably proves it, that, towards the eleventh Century, no Corruption could exceed that of the *Greeks*; so that their advantageous Point of View

View is either the heroic or the republican Ages.

The Antients will ever object against *France*, the noble Simplicity of their Customs, and at the same Time accuse the Weakness of her Opinions in Arts. *Athenæus*, it is true, might see his Stile in *Paris*, as might *Apelles*, *Phidias* and *Praxiteles* in *Italy*; but the *Romans* would not bear with the false Elegance and vain Ornaments in the Stile of the latter.

Of all the modern Nations, *France* comes nearest the antient Genius of the *Greeks*, and especially of the *Athenians*. What Disadvantages lie against it from Prejudices, are abundantly made up by essential Virtues, which were not among the *Greeks*. That Abhorrence, so plain in all its Behaviour, of the clandestine Machinations of Jealousy and Revenge; the Purity and Accuracy of its Writers; its Generosity in War, are Qualities which seldom entered into a *Grecian* Character. *France* may further object to all Nations that Spirit of Society, which it has imparted to all *Europe*.

Grecian Antiquity had no Idea of a Monarchy tempered by Morals, nor of the Division of Power betwixt the Prince and People. The moderate Reign of *Cyrus* was looked upon as a Prodigy. What would the *Grecian* Politicians think of the Parliament of *England*, and *French* Honour? In fine, Manners are an Equipoise unknown to the Politicians of antient Times.

Egypt

Egypt and *China* would see themselves in each other. In the written Language of *China*, the Hieroglyphics of *Egypt*, the Silence, the Worship of Spirits, exterior Gravity, and a more moderate Despotism than in any other Part of the East, these two Monarchies have the Appearance of being founded by one Legislator. In general, none of those Nations of *Africa* and the East, so elate with their Achievements, ever dreamt of the *European* Conquests, the Fortitude of its Philosophers, the Valour of its Warriors, and the indisputable Pre-eminence in which it was to stand, above all other Parts of the World.

Were a *Roman* placed in the imperial Dyet, and to hear, in the midst of a College of Princes, the Interests of the Empire discussed from the profoundest Maxims of the Civil Law, the happy republican Times would immediately recur to his Thoughts, he would be tempted to imagine himself in the Senate, at the Audience of those Embassadors, who took the Senators for so many Sovereigns. Such an Appearance would put even a *Grecian* to a Stand, whether he were not in the College of the *Amphyctians*, or assisting at the States General of his Nation.

But the delightful Illusion would vanish, when, instead of the Equality or moderate Subordination of the Citizens, instead of that republican Constitution which they idolized, they came to discover the Despotism and Lustiness of the *German* Highnesses: But upon casting

an Eye on the Theatres and public Places, void of Decorations and of Monuments of Art, they would then both be plainly convinced they were not in their own Country.

Among the modern Republics, *Venice* and *Holland* could not fail of attracting their Admiration; the former, on account of the peculiar Glory of having turned to the most excellent Use, an ill-contrived Government, not very unlike that which the *Greeks* had a thousand Times so wretchedly abused. *Holland*, in its municipal Polity, in the Alliance and Union of its Provinces, surpassing all that they ever had seen in *Tyre* and *Carthage*, and perhaps in *Athens* itself.

Plato, and the greatest Philosophers, would be no less charmed with the *Helvetian* Body: For, amidst all the Ruggedness of their Exterior, the *Switzers* have excelled in the very Essence of the republican System, the Maintenance of their Freedom, without incroaching on that of others. Their Fidelity, their *German* Candour, their Alliance with all Nations, of which History does not afford a like Instance, are Circumstances which would be carefully collected by *Xenophon*, and all the worthy Men of Antiquity.

Their Wonder would still be increased, to observe all *Europe* tending to Liberty, to a Balance of Power, to universal Commerce, to settle its Colonies, and introduce its Sciences in all Parts of the World. They would be ravished at the present Spirit of Society, and own them-

themselves instructed by our Philosophers. How would they improve their Spectacles with the Modifications of our Music, of which they had no Idea! Besides, they would deem our moderate Expence in this Branch as a Parimony, which their best Men wished for, and strove to compass, as absolutely necessary to the Well-being of the State. Indeed, the Softness of our Education, and our invaluable Loss in the Expulsion of the natural Simplicity of ancient Manners, are Topics by which the *Greeks* and *Romans* might retort upon us: But I cannot think that Nations of an older Date would prefer the ritual Government to the *European* Constitutions,

A

Picturesque Character OF N A T I O N S.

I.

ORIENTALS and GREEKS.

THE antient Nations being the fresh Productions of Nature, there is in them a free, original Touch, which is not to be found in the Moderns. The Expressions of the Stile, and the natural Manners in the Antients, are like sanguine Carnations. The antient Manners are true Flesh and Blood. The local Colours are virginal, not affected, prominent of themselves, without any Need of those Relievo's which are seen in our Manners. The Scene of the Antients is rural, and requires the Height of Delicacy in the colouring.

The Contrasts in the antient Manners are lofty and enticing to the last Degree. A King

practising Physic and Agriculture at the same Time ; Princes busied in Household Affairs ; the Scepter of Sovereignty tenderly united with the Shepherd's Crook ; these are the Figures in the Portrait of the Antients ; methinks it should be in *Fresco*, the better to answer Nature's Freshness at that Time.

Were I to paint antient *Egypt*, in Front and under a vast Expanse of glaring Light, I would exhibit stately Buildings and stupendous Monuments of Antiquity ; and the silent Imagery should not be disturbed with many Figures.

The remoter Part should be deeply shaded as an Emblem of the profound Secrecy of *Egypt* in Religion and the Sciences, with a few Lights for Priests and Philosophers, to whom I would give simple but majestic Habits, Attitudes of Dignity, and severe Graces ; a deep Stilness through the whole, and a little Variety of Colours.

As to modern Orientals, their Principle of Manners, which may be compared to Beauty of Stile, ever makes a gay Scene under a clear Sky. But on the other hand, I would have the Contrast of the Objects harsh and strong : At the Feet of the Sultan's glittering Throne, must lie Heaps of murder'd Nobles ; every where on the Sides, and in the Distances, Misery and universal Oppression ; and at the farthest Parts, the Flight of desperate Subjects along Precipices, should strike the Beholder.

It would be proper to place the Priests and Doctors of their Religion on a Stage, and their whole Expression violent and forced: every Part of the Design must appear turgid. The Women of these Countries, being all Slaves or Prostitutes, can be allowed only vitiated or constrained Graces.

Amidst the general Calamity, amidst melancholy, filthy and even despicable Objects, there are found some great Characters, as the Sages, the Contemplators, the Inventors of Religions, and abstracted Sciences; these might be placed at a Distance, but indicated by the Symbols of their Attributes.

For the Portrait of the *Greeks*, there must be slightly Colours; the Carnation brown and shining, to express their Complexion and Vivacity.

The Figures etherial, volatile, the Drapery also thin or rather transparent, like those of the Deities, as denotative of the divine Imagination of *Homer* and other *Greeks*.

The Pencil here cannot be too easy, the *Greeks* having blended Nature and Antiquity with admirable Precision; so that the Design of the Figures, must speak this Alliance of the haughty and tender. The Manner in general, ought to be in the grand Taste.

If the Scene be laid in the Country, the heroic pastoral Stile is the most suitable; but I should like it better in a City, and still better at *Athens* than at *Sparta*, whose singular Character was an Exception to that of the *Greeks*.

Whatever be the Choice, let every Thing be full of Heat and Bustle.

But especially let us imitate those laboured Heads, the studied Physiognomies of the *Grecian* Statues: In Works of this Kind, the Sculptors certainly had an Eye to the singular Subtilty, Craft, and Imagination of the *Grecians*.

II.

The R O M A N S.

WHAT a glorious View does the *Roman* Scene afford! a *Roman* may, without Impropriety, be painted amidst conquered Nations, and the Ruins of the Universe. The Strokes must be grand and bold, a little brown, but no Affectation of Embellishment. This is the Stile of all the Painters of the *Roman* School in exalted Subjects; Melancholy, which is ever a Concomitant of Magnanimity, being the Character of great Artists, great Subjects and great Souls.

The *Roman* Figures must be large, yet not so divine as those of the *Greeks*, but well proportioned, with a more firm and masculine Carnation. The Muscles of the Body and the Expressions of the Soul are not to be exaggerated, as those of the *Greeks* often require to be.

Let the Design of the Figures be the antique Taste, yet less mixed with the Tenderness of Nature.

Nature than a *Grecian*. That laboured Elegancy and studied Nature does not correspond with the *Romans*. *Annibal Carraccio* has most admirably united the *Grecian*, the *Roman* and *Florentine* Tastes in the *Farnesian* Gallery: in painting their Bodies, he meant at the same to display their Genius.

The Portrait of a *Roman*, therefore, is not to be charged like that of a *Grecian*; he must have none of those singular Attitudes, which were the common Effects of Enthusiasm and Philosophy among the latter.

A magnanimous spirited Look, yet with Simplicity; a moderate Motion in the Figures and Picture, an accurate Agreement in all the Parts, and an Air of Grandeur through the whole, characterise the *Romans*. Those high flown Thoughts, those Caprices which suit the *Grecian* Genius, would be much misplaced here. The Fancy must be judiciously heated; taking the Expression of Painters in the Reverse, *Poussin* may be said to have aimed at the *Romans*.

III.

The FRENCH.

IN the *French* Character, the Colours are mellow and thoroughly mixed, and the Shades neither large nor harsh. A fresco Carnation, without that Relief which Shades and Browns give to Objects, will allegorically indicate what is usually wanting in the *French* Character.

Its Manner is vague ; its Harmony mild, yet noble. In the *French* Character, every thing indeed is uniform and agreeable ; but there is often a Want of Force.

Little Pride in the Colouring ; less of those strong Oppositions in Manners, which may be compared to the surprizing Effects of Light in a Picture. The *French* Genius is known by this Uniformity. The mild Colours must predominate, and not the least Tinct of Savage-ness or Crudity be admitted.

The Picture full of Hurry and Noise ; a Multitude of small Objects, even to *Minuties*. This Multiplicity is certainly a Disadvantage, as it will dissipate the Sight ; but if the Picture be not so good, it has a greater Likeness.

Elegant Touches, and a well-chosen Nature, will exhibit the *French* as the Model of Decencies. The Graces of the Persons, amiable and noble, incompatible with Constraint or Servitude,

The

The Figures, however, must not be original, the *French* Exterior having very little of that characteristical Air which is seen in *Spain*, *Italy*, &c. Neither in the *Frenchman* is the Design to be too much in the grand Manner, nor too scrupulously in the antique Taste: All must be light; the Figures supple, and in Motion.

The *Frenchman* pleases at first Sight; he is like those delicate and incomparable Heads of *Guido*. It may be allegorically said, that endeavouring after *Raphael*, he has hit the latter.

IV.

The E N G L I S H.

HERE the Strokes must be free and original; the Colouring interspersed with Savageness, and even the Manner a little inclinable to the gloomy. In the Shades place melancholy Figures; deep Shades express their Misanthropy: Liberty requires strong Lights; and Gleams, flashing amidst the Darkness, express the *English* Genius breaking out in determined Sallies.

All its Graces are of the harsh Kind; for the *English* Exterior, it is certain, has little of the majestic Sweetness and Composure of the antient Statues: It is rather Loftiness than Majesty; he must be drawn from himself.

The Scene of the Picture, however, is august; it exhibits the greatest Objects: The Sea, the Parliament in Front, with Parties for

and against Liberty; all which add an extreme Fury to the Picture.

The Painter's Imagination will be at Liberty for some of those Caprices incident to the English Humour; so that, to express the English-man, I am of Opinion, that it is not the mild, natural, just and correct Design of *Raphael* which is to be followed, but that of *Angelo*, haughty and terrible, profound and learned, but harsh and exaggerated. For the Colouring, no better Patterns than *Caravaccio*, *Gherardi*, and other Authors of Night-pieces,

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